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STATEMENT

This is to certify that the book entitled "German Crimes in Poland", published by the Central Commission for investigation of German Crimes in Poland in Warsaw, 1946, - is an official document of the Polish Government submitted to the International Military Tribunal under the provisions set forth in Article 21 of the Charter.

Nurnberg, the 31th of June, 1946.

Dr. Stanislaw Pietrowski
Member of the Central Commission for Investigation of German War Crimes in Poland, member of the Polish Delegation at the International Military Tribunal at Nurnberg.

Dr. St Pietrowski

GŁÓWNA KOMISJA BADANIA ZBRODNI HITLEROWSKICH

B 042815

Total Copies

956

H4081 – 0003

GERMAN CRIMES IN POLAND

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL
NURNBERG, GERMANY
GR Exhibit USSR 9
Filed Aug 5, 1946

B 042816

H4081 – 0004

CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION
OF GERMAN CRIMES IN POLAND

GERMAN CRIMES
IN POLAND

I

WARSAW 1946 VOL. I

B 042817

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TŁOCZONO W DRUKARNI ŚW. WOJCIECHA POD ZARZĄDEM PAŃSTWOWYM W POZNANIU

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The Central Commission for the Investigation of German crimes in Poland, after more than a year's work, is now publishing the first results of its investigations of the crimes which the Germans committed between 1939 and 1945.

For months members of the Commission investigated any traces left by the occupants of the crimes they had committed, collected documents and all available proofs of crime, and took evidence from witnesses and from surviving victims of the criminal proceedings, in an endeavour to obtain as detailed and true a picture of the offences as possible. It is due to the fact that these investigations were carried out in due legal form, by examination of witnesses and according to the principles which are valid in all judicial proceedings — i. e. impartiality, proper caution in collecting evidence, and careful verification of witnesses' statements — that so long a time has elapsed before the Commission could publish the first results of its work. All data which appear in this bulletin are based on evidence which has been very carefully examined from every angle and properly verified. The only statements and documents that have been considered were those which could be treated as factual evidence. Only data of unquestioned evidential value were considered fit for publication.

The Bulletin of the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland aims at recording the unique historical and sociological phenomenon of the crimes which the Germans committed in Poland during the world war 1939-45. The recording of these crimes and their detailed reconstruction has been considered by the Commission as a duty, not only towards the Polish nation, but towards humanity. Not merely the present but also future generations

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ought to realize what deeds were performed by the Germans under the influence of national-socialistic ideology; what certain ideas and social myths lead to, and of what kind and range were the crimes committed by the Germans in the middle of the twentieth century in a country the population of which was considered by the rulers of the Third Reich as mere slaves, condemned to death.

The crimes that were committed in Poland cannot be treated as transgressions by individuals against laws, regulations, or orders. They are not merely the criminal acts of individual people, in breach of valid laws. They were planned and prepared for by the chief German governmental authorities, who explicitly instructed offices and government officials as to the way in which they should be carried out. They were committed in accordance with Nazi law and with Nazi ethics and ideology; not only by members of the Gestapo, SS and police, but also by officers and soldiers of the German army, German administrative officials, railway officials, doctors, and by representatives of German industry and science. The whole governmental system in Poland was criminal, and every crime was an inevitable consequence of the official German attitude.

The ashes of the millions of victims of these official German crimes have the right to request those who survived that history should accurately depict the period 1939-45, and that the real truth about these years may be fully revealed. It is on behalf of this historical truth, for the sake of broad human culture, and for the future of the generations to come, that we undertake this publication of the results of our investigations concerning German crimes in Poland.

We shall now let the facts speak for themselves, in the conviction that no one, however deaf he may be, will ever fail to hear their voice.

The Central Commission for the
Investigation of German Crimes in Poland

EXTERMINATION, CONCENTRATION AND LABOUR CAMPS IN POLAND DURING THE YEARS 1939—1945.

I

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The basis of the compilation of the first list of German Camps in Poland in the years 1939—1945 is a detailed inquiry by the Central Committee for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. Questionnaires, with instructions concerning how to answer them, were sent out at the end of August 1945 by the Ministry of Justice to all the Courts of First Instance functioning on the territory of the Polish State. The judicial authorities collected data through the intermediation of the sheriffs of communes, or of the mayors of towns in areas where a camp existed, whose evidence they took. The questionnaires therefore have an official character and are signed by the sheriff or the mayor; bear the seal of the commune or town, and are accompanied by statements by the judges of First Instance.

To the questionnaires were often appended:

1) Evidence of witnesses who were inmates of the camp, or who could observe from outside some details of the life in the camp during the occupation.

2) Statements of the judges of First Instance concerning their investigations on the sites of the camps, and documentary evidence obtained from the camps.

The data on which this account is based have thus been obtained as objectively as possible.

3) Statements describing the exhumation of corpses of prisoners killed in the camp, and even documents left by Germans or deceased prisoners.

The questionnaire was not sent to the area in the West recently incorporated with Poland, as the Courts of First Instance and the local administration there are only now in process of establishment.

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The territorial range of the questionnaire is for the moment limited to Poland and the former (1939) area of the Free City of Gdańsk (Dantzig) now forming part of the Polish Republic. The remaining area incorporated in 1945, as well as the territory in the East annexed by the U. S. S. R., is excluded from the questionnaire.

There is no possibility of obtaining details about all the German camps in Poland, owing to various difficulties resulting from the war and the long occupation. About 20 Courts of First Instance (i. e. about 7% of the total number) have not answered the questionnaire. Undoubtedly further methodical investigations will furnish supplementary data. But the material already collected at its source is of first-rate historical value and gives a clear view of the problem of the camps, and the scale of their importance in the general policy of the Germans in Poland.

To give a uniform character to this report on the camps, the material was most carefully selected, the following branches being excluded from consideration:

1) The prisoners-of-war camps and their labour sub-sections *(Arbeitskommandos)* are excluded from consideration; as these have no direct connection with the policy of the occupying authorities on Polish territory and against the Polish population.

2) The ghettoes or Jewries *(Judenviertel)* established in Polish towns, since strictly speaking they had not the character of camps.

3) The transit camps *Durchgangslager* (abbreviated to *Dulag)* or *Uebergangslager*, which were merely clearing centres.

They may be divided into four main groups, the first of which comprised the civilian internment camps *(Zivilinterniertenlager)* which existed in Pomerania and Poznania in the first 6 months of the war, from the beginning of September, 1939, to the early spring of 1940.

They contained, for the most part, Poles who, before the outbreak of war, belonged to political or social organizations, or who had in any way opposed the Germans. The internees did no work, except occasional camp cleaning. After a certain time they were executed, in masses or driven to concentration camps in Germany; though some few were released. These camps might be described as mass interrogation prisons. Later they were rarely used.

The second group comprised the camps for *hostages*, who were chosen according to a definite plan, as outstanding representatives of society, or, sometimes, were taken at random from the vicinity, in order to terrorize the population according to the principle of collective responsibility *(ius loci)* for anti-German activity. The fate of these hostages varied. Often they were executed; sometimes individuals were able to buy their release; often they were sent to concentration camps.

The third group consisted of transit camps administered by the Labour Office *(Arbeitsamt)*. Those caught at random in man hunts were sent there for selection, the most suitable being taken for forced labour in Germany; while large transports were sometimes sent to concentration camps. People were kept in the transit camps for several days without possibility of sleep or rest, crammed together in a small space, in uncertainty concerning their future fate.

The fourth and last group of transit camps comprised the evacuation centres *(Umsiedlungslager or Aufenhaltslager)*, where whole families who had been compulsorily evacuated from their homes were held for a longer or shorter time, until a transport was ready. Parties of these evacuees were taken from time to time for forced labour, or to concentration camps, or to the labour camps, or, finally, for work in Germany. Everywhere the worst hygienic conditions prevailed and, together with insufficient food, often caused disease and death.

Instances are known of people having frozen to death in the transport wagons in winter.

4) On an average the maximum number of inmates at one time in these labour camps was a hundred. If there had been more they might more easily have been observed by persons outside.

Only the larger labour camps with more than 100 inmates are described in this report.

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5) Two kinds were, however, excluded from consideration:

a) Camps of workers from the East *(Ostarbeiterlager)* because it was stated on most of the questionnaires that workers were concentrated in these camps, but were working freely and without supervision in different establishments; had opportunities of going on leave to visit their families; and were receiving food rations according to the German scale.

b) Camps of the so-called "Building Service" *(Baudienst)*, established in the General Gouvernement for minors, who at first enlisted voluntarily, but afterwards under compulsion, all who were born in the same year being taken for a period of from 3 to 7 months and receiving clothing, food and medical attention. The work was paid at the rate of one zloty daily. These *Baudienst* camps were under the general supervision of the *Reichsarbeitsdienstführer*. There was also in every district a *Kommandoführer des Baudienstes* who was responsible to the *Baudienst* Department of the *Hauptabteilung der Inneren Verwaltung* in the General Gouvernement.

Camps of this type were very few, a dozen or so in each.

Characteristics of the various camps as found by the inquiry

The German camps in Poland were one of the main instruments of "New Order" policy. This order, based on the idea of the superiority of the "Nordic" race and of the "Master Race" in particular, gave typical expression to Nazi imperialism in the East. It aimed at the wholesale exploitation of the forces of the conquered nations for the benefit of Germany, and afterwards at their extirpation. The Jews were to be completely extirpated before the end of the war; while the Poles were intended to do slave work for the Germans before sharing their fate.

In accordance with the underlying ideas of German imperialistic policy and their colonization plans, great preparations were made in Poland for a mass resettlement of the population, who were to pass through evacuation centres *(Umsiedlungslager)*.

For the exploitation of the slave workers a whole series of labour camps *(Arbeitslager)* was established and the mass deportation of the Polish population to Germany for compulsory labour began.

Extermination camps *(Vernichtungslager)* were organized, for the destruction of elements which from the Nazi point of view were valueless, and indeed obnoxious to the interests of the Third Reich (Jews and Gipsies in the first place). The concentration camps *(Konzentrationslager)* were used for the extermination of resisting elements and as means of terrorizing the whole population.

It must be kept in mind that Poles were imprisoned in the concentration camps not only for political activity, but for sabotage; for making a stand against the regulations of the occupying authorities; for smuggling food from the country districts into the towns; and for not delivering adequate supplies of food.

Numbers of innocent people were also sent to the concentration camps, after being caught at random in the streets, or in railway trains, during the man-hunts systematically organized by the SS, gendarmerie and police. These activities by the occupying authorities had as their main objective terrorization of the whole Polish population.

I. Extermination Camps (Vernichtungslager) were established ostensibly as camps, but really as places of execution. In Poland where the investigation was carried out there existed four such independent camps: at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, as well as three extermination camps connected organically with the main concentration camps at

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Oswiecim II — Brzezinka (Birkenau), Majdanek and Stutthof (Stuttow).

Prisoners were brought to these camps in large parties and were as a rule executed immediately, with the exception of small working parties who were occupied in burying the bodies of the victims and sorting the belongings they left. In these camps there were no prisoners. Mass executions were usually carried out in gas-chambers or in specially adapted lorries by poisoning the victims with Cyclon (Hydrogen cyanide, HCN or HCy) or with carbon monoxide (CO).

The corpses of the gassed were first buried in collective graves and afterwards burnt in crematoria or on piles on which inflammable liquids were poured. In the spring of 1943 mass exhumations were carried out and the corpses previously buried were burnt, in order that all traces of the crimes committed should be wiped out.

The working groups were also murdered after a certain time, and their places filled by newly-arrived prisoners.

Jews and Gipsies exclusively were killed at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka but at Chelmno a certain number of Poles and persons of other nationalities also perished (mostly Russians).

In every extermination camp hundreds of thousands of people were killed. The belongings of the murdered (such as clothing, jewels, or gold, including settings for false teeth) and female human hair were regularly sent by the camp authorities to Germany.

II. Concentration Camps (Konzentrationslager, Kazet or K. L.) were intended as already mentioned as a means of terrorization, which should affect the widest spheres of Polish society, and paralyse every attempt at resistance against the occupying enemy; and, further, as an instrument for the destruction of the largest possible number of Polish citizens, and thereby for the diminution of the Poles, as a national element obnoxious to the colonization plans of the Third Reich.

MORZE BAŁTYCKIE

GERMAN CAMPS IN POLAND

- Extermination camp
- Concentration camp
- Centre
- Branch
- Concentration and extermination camp
- Labour camp
- Transit camp

Frontier of Poland since 1945

" " " in 1939

Boundary of the Voivodeships

Voivode towns (names underlined).

SKÓRZEWO STUTTHOF

CHEŁMNO

TREBLINKA

SOBIBÓR

MAJDANEK

ROGOŹNE GROSS ROSEN

BRZEZINKA BIRKENAU OŚWIĘCIM I AUSCHWITZ

BEŁZEC

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The regime of the camps, the housing conditions, the food rations, the kind of work, and the lack of medical attention all go to show that the German concentration camps were intended to be places for the destruction of hundreds of thousands of people. The highest German State authorities organised them in such a way as to ensure the death of the largest number of prisoners in the shortest possible time.

In view of the low calorie value of the food given them, it was obvious that those prisoners who were not getting food parcels from home and had no opportunity of stealing food were sure to die in a few months.

An average healthy man in the camp, working hard, insufficiently clad, undernourished, constantly losing weight, without vitamins, spending the nights in an unheated hut in disgraceful sanitary conditions devoured by lice, with no opportunity of washing, having to work even when sick, with no prospect of getting well — an average healthy man in such conditions would fall victim to the first serious disease which might infect him.

To replace the dead, thousands of new prisoners arrived for slave work, to give place to new hosts of victims in their turn.

In this way hundreds of thousands of people in Poland might pass through a concentration camp of relatively small size in a very short time, their exit being the grave.

Apart from the inhuman treatment of the prisoners by the camp authorities, the cruelties and the persecution, the mere conditions of life and work made these concentration camps nothing less than extermination centres.

III. Labour Camps (Arbeitslager) were of four kinds: penal settlements, camps for Jews, ordinary labour camps, and camps for those working on fortifications.

1. The first kind included all which, no matter how called, had a penal character; i. e. the penal labour camps

(Strafarbeitslager), penal camps *(Straflager)*, compulsory labour camps *(Zwangsarbeitslager)*, substitute police prisons *(Polizeiersatzgefängnisse)*, labour training camps *(Arbeitserziehungslager)*, institutions for work such as the *Gauarbeitsanstalt* near Bojanowo in Poznania, working sections of the penal prisons *(Arbeitskommando-Stammlager*, or *Zuchthäuser)*, and penal administrative camps.

All these had an intermediate status between the ordinary labour camps and the penal administrative camps. Work was treated as a punishment, and prisoners had to work 12—14 hours a day, with one hour's break for dinner. Bad hygienic conditions, lack of medical attention, and insufficient food caused high mortality. The prisoners were also beaten and tortured, as in the concentration camps. (The punishments in use were: flogging, beating while working, setting of dogs at prisoners, hanging by the hands or feet, imprisonment in a coal-hole, confinement in a dark prison, naked, and without food.) For more serious offences, such as stealing bread when hungry, or attempting to escape, the penalty was death.

Confinement in penal labour camps took the place of imprisonment, in cases of smuggling, mild sabotage, non-delivery of food, neglect to obey the summons of the Labour Department *(Arbeitsamt)*, engaging in work in Germany, trading or carrying on an industrial establishment without official permission.

The main difference between these camps and the concentration camps lay in the period of punishment prescribed. This difference is big enough; according to the particular type of penal camp, (particularly in the first period) sentences varied from one to several months in the penal administrative camps (in the area the General Gouvernement), but these periods were often extended. Often after the expiration of the sentence punishment was inflicted a second time. There were also numerous instances when the prisoners were transferred in larger groups to concentration camps for an

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unlimited time. In general, however, after finishing their sentence prisoners were either released or sent to work in Germany.

These camps were in most cases not very large, the average number of inmates at any one time being somewhere between 100 and 500, but during their existence a larger number of people passed through them than through the ordinary labour camps, which in most cases had a permanent number of workers for a longer time.

2) The second kind were the camps for Jews *(Judenlager* or, abbreviated, *Jülag)*.

These, in spite of their name, always had an exterminatory character owing to the small food rations, extremely hard work, and ill treatment which prevailed. The commandants had a great deal of freedom in dealing with their prisoners, and often inhumanly persecuted them with complete disregard for their lives. For small offences prisoners were shot or hanged.

The food in the Jewish camps was far less in quantity that given to Aryan workers in the ordinary labour camps. The Jewish workers were destined to destruction after their strength had been exploited to the full.

3) The ordinary labour camps *(Arbeitslager* or *Gemeinschaftslager)* likewise deliberately exploited the physical strength of the prisoners to the utmost, and at the same time gave the absolute minimum of subsistence.

Those who were registered with the Labour Offices and the temporarily unemployed were sent here as required. The general supervision of the labour camps came under the German Labour Front — the so-called D. A. F. *(Deutsche Arbeits-Front)*.

Work remained under the supervision of the individual contracting firms or under that of the Todt Organization. To this group belonged labour camps for the construction of motor-roads *(Reichsbahnlager)*, while those for the purifying

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of water-works were under the direction of the Reich Water Board *(Reichswasserwirtschaftsamt)*.

4) The last distinct group were the special camps for fortification construction *(Einsatzlager)*, which were organised in the second half of 1944, owing to the withdrawal of the Eastern Front. The details and methods of organization in the various camps differed widely. Workers in the camps in areas not far from the front were usually concentrated in hutments on an enclosed site and worked under the supervision of the army. Camps in localities situated further to the rear consisted of huts or tents; or school buildings were used under a guard; or it might be that the local population were compressed, and lodged in huts, barns, or stables.

The construction work was supervised by the Todt organization or by the *SA (Sturmabteilung) der NSDAP*, or by the army.

In some localities all those who were able to work, were taken for fortification-construction, any who tried to avoid it being tracked down by the gendarmerie or police on the roads or in their homes in the country.

In the following list only such fortification-works are mentioned as were served by camps where all the workers lived in huts.

IV. Transit camps and evacuation centres (Umsiedlungslager).

We will mention only the largest transit camps and those which lasted the longest, connected as they were with the expulsion of Poles from the area incorporated in the Reich into that of the General Gouvernement; or with the mass migration from the Southern section of the province of Lublin; or from the Eastern territories when the Russians were advancing; or with the expulsions from Warsaw after the collapse of the Rising in 1944.

The average size of a transit camp was several hundred thousand; whole families being accommodated in them — not

working for the most part, but only for short periods. From these camps some of the evacuees were sent to Germany, while the majority went on to their destination by rail. Owing to bad sanitary conditions, epidemic diseases were very common; insufficient nourishment and bad housing conditions affected the health of the evacuees, causing much disease and a high rate of mortality.

These camps were simply instruments of German policy in Poland, which was to settle large numbers of Germans in territory which had previously been ethnographically purely Polish.

Statistics of the Camps in Poland

I. Extermination Camps

1. Belżec
2. Sobibor
3. Treblinka
4. Chelmno

There existed besides three extermination camps strictly united with the concentration camps in Oswiecim - Brzezinka (Auschwitz - Birkenau), Majdanek and Stutthof.

II. Concentration camps

1. Majdanek
2. Oswięcim (Auschwitz)
3. Grossrosen
4. Stutthof

Concentration camps had numerous additional smaller camps (branches). The camp in Oswiecim (Auschwitz) possessed 44 such supplementary camps. The camp in Stutthof had over 30 additional camps.

III. Labour Camps

total 435

Kinds of Labour camps.

	Total	Common	Penal	Fortific. works	For Jews
Bialystok	14	4	6	2	2
Bydgoszcz	37	2	5	26	4
Gdańsk	2	—	1	—	1
Kielce	53	—	8	24	21
Cracow	53	4	4	33	12
Lublin	39	2	9	—	28
Lodz	39	6	10	17	6
Poznan	63	19	11	8	25
Rzeszow	33	2	4	17	10
Silesia and Dabrowa Coal Field	36	23	7	—	6
Warsaw	66	5	37	10	14
Total	435	67	102	137	129

LABOUR CAMPS GRADED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBERS OF WORKERS IN THEM

	100—500 persons	500—1.000 persons	over 1.000 persons
Bialystok	13	—	1
Bydgoszcz	12	4	21
Gdańsk	1	—	1
Kielce	25	10	18
Cracow	35	9	9
Lublin	23	10	6
Lodz	19	6	14
Poznań	44	9	10
Rzeszow	23	5	5
Silesia and Dabrowa	20	8	8
Warsaw	57	6	3
Total	272	67	96

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Kinds of work in Labour camps.

Fortifications	28%
Road-building	19%
Water-puryifing	14%
Industry	12%
Agriculture	7%
Building construction	6%
Mining	3%
Other kinds	11%

IV. Transit Camps and Evacuation Centres

total 18

The above account of the various types of camps — which, as far as the labour camps are concerned, is confined to the few largest — shows fully the criminal tendencies of German policy in Poland, as well as the extent of the German crimes committed there.

Poland was the territory where the Germans organised a wide network of extermination camps, where millions, not only of Polish citizens but of victims from other European countries also were put to death. Oswięcim, Majdanek, Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor and Chełmno form a series of places of execution such as was established in no other German-occupied country.

The largest concentration camp in Poland was set up at Oswiecim; and it and others, including the infamous one at Majdanek (Lublin), were deliberately designed for the merciless exploitation of the prisoners, strength and at the same time for the destruction of the largest possible number of Poles by hunger and disease.

In fine: Poland was covered with a close network of different kinds of labour camps, where hundreds of thousands of people worked as slaves for the war engine of the Third Reich.

Thus the camps in Poland were one of the principal instruments for achieving the criminal aims of Himmler, Greiser and Frank: „The complete extermination of the Poles after a short period of exploitation".

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Fig. 1. Sketch map showing the position of Oświęcim

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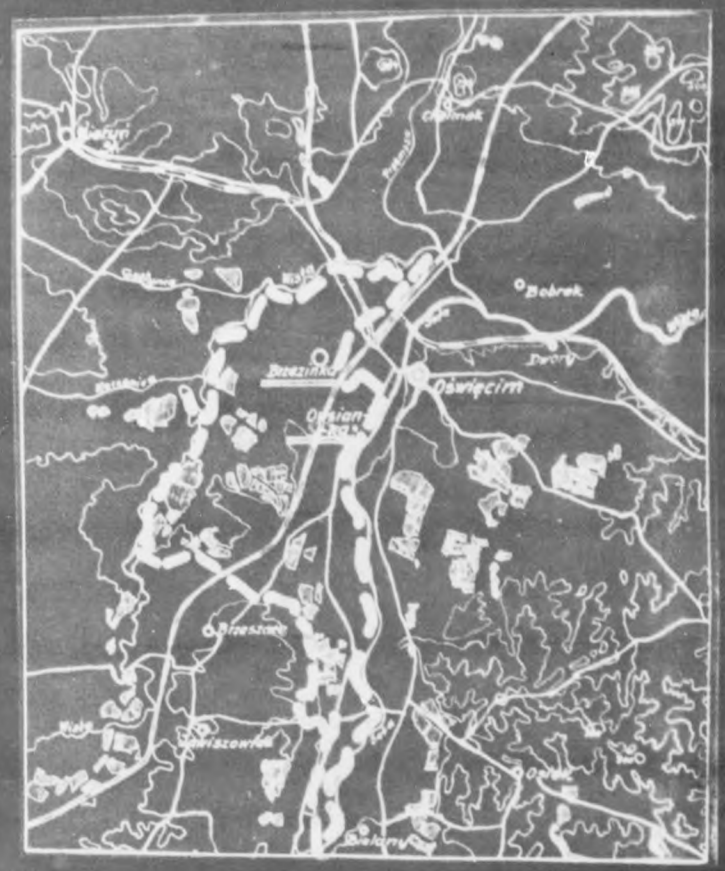

Fig. 2. Topographical sketch of the environs of Oświęcim

Fig. 3. Geological sketch map of Oswięcim and environs

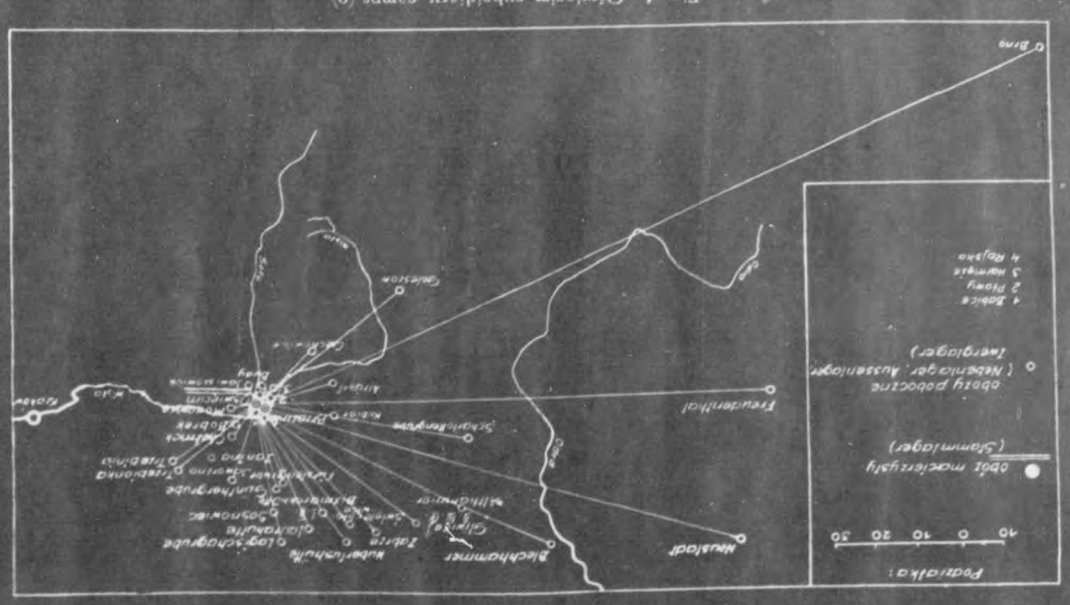

Fig. 4. Oświęcim subsidiary camps (o)

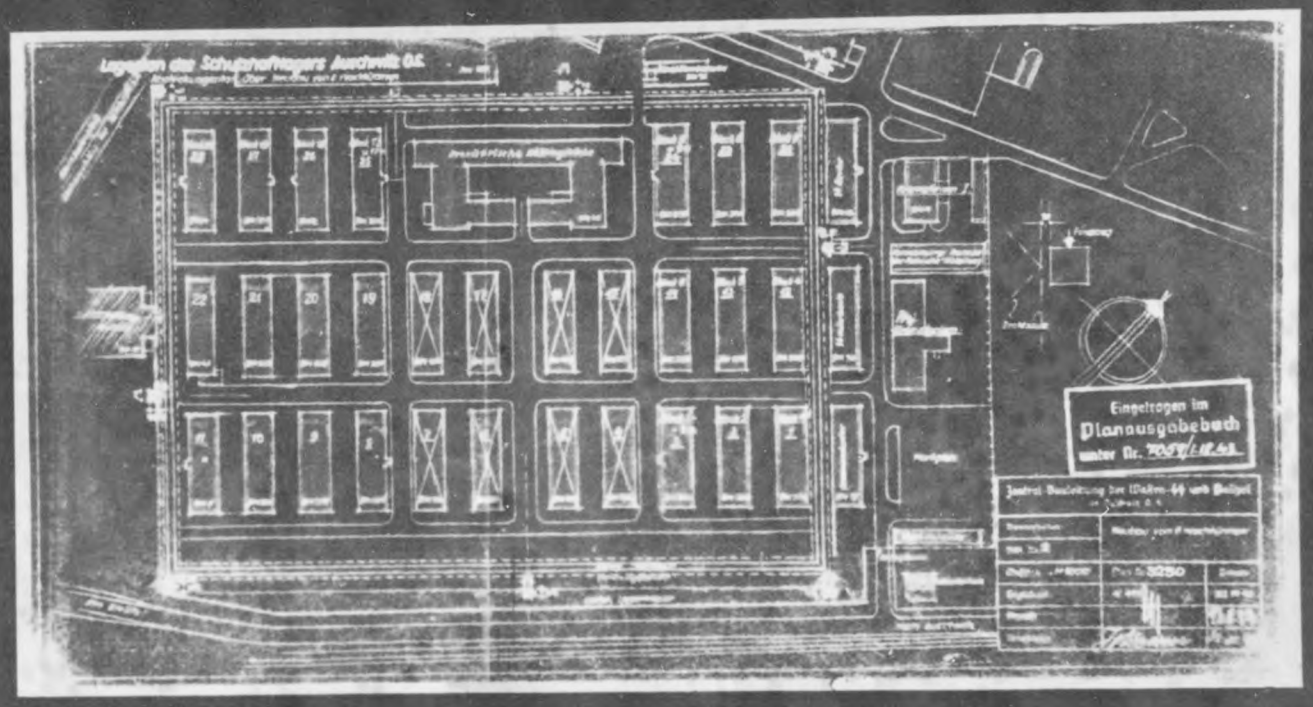

Fig. 5. Ground plan of the main camp (Oświęcim I.)

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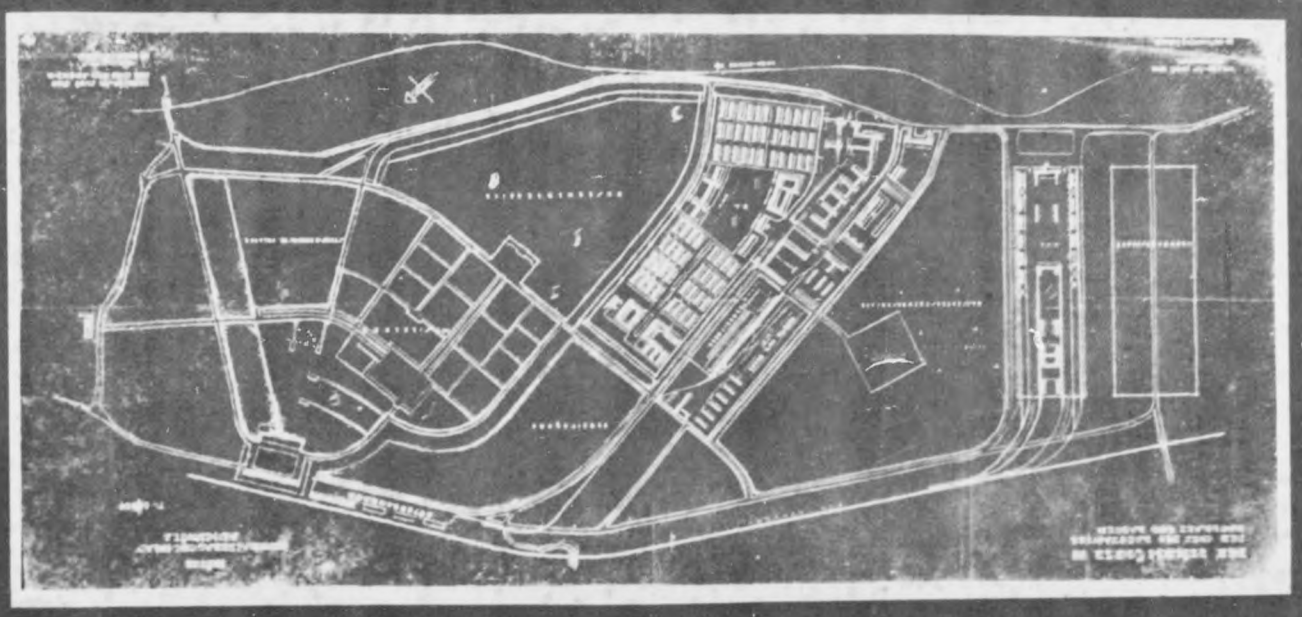

Fig. 6. Projected extension of the main camp

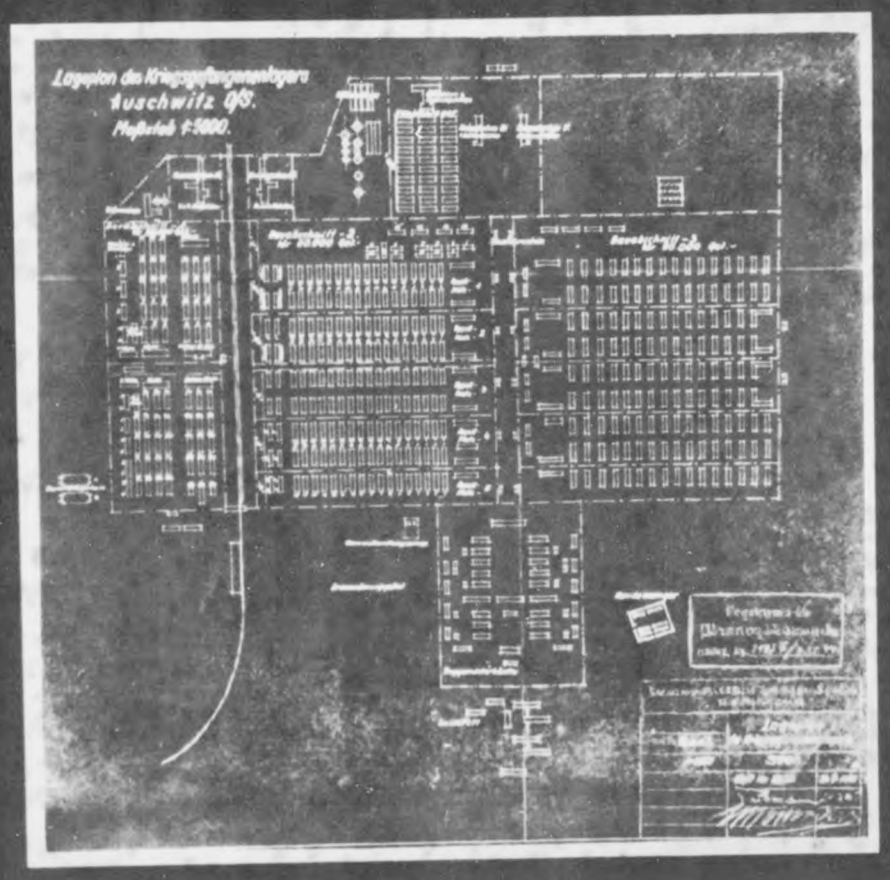

Fig. 7:
Ground-plan of camp at Brzezinka (Birkenau), near Oświęcim, showing the narrow-gauge railway line running right up to the gas-chambers and crematoria.

To the left of it is the women's camp (FL), to the right, camp B II for men, and still further to the right the unfinished camp B III.

Fig. 8. Plan of prisoners' hut at Brzezinka (Birkenau)

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CONCENTRATION AND EXTERMINATION CAMP AT OŚWIĘCIM

(Auschwitz - Birkenau).

II

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I. The geographical, geological and climatic situation of the Camp.

The small, provincial Polish town of Oświęcim is situated far from the main railway centres and the more important lines of communication. It has grown famous not only in Poland but in the eyes of the whole world because of the German concentration camp called officially "Konzentrationslager Auschwitz", situated in the suburbs of the town.

The little town has about 12,000 inhabitants, and is situated 286 km. south-west of Warsaw, and 50 km. west of Cracow.

Oświęcim lies on the cross-roads from East to West. Although it is close to the Tatra Mountains and the Gate of Morawy, a water shed of the Danube, Wisła and Odra (Fig. 1) Oświęcim is situated on particularly flat, and even hollow ground, without any declivity.

It is sufficient to look at a topographical map (Fig. 2) to see that the place where Oświęcim is situated and the centre of the camp is like the bottom of a flat basin with no regular slope for draining away water. It is encircled by a series of fishponds, which permeate the whole land with damp, mist and mud.

The earth at the bottom of the basin is impervious to water owing to its geological structure, (Fig. 3) consisting of a 60 to 80 metres thick layer of marl, at the bottom of the basin. The surface consisting of sand and pebbles is always muddy, due to its underlying substances. Besides, the quality of this stagnant water is very bad due to the rotting of organic substances which poison the air. It could be improved only by in-

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stalling very expensive purifying works. For all these reasons, Oświęcim and its surrounding are not only damp but also abound with malaria and other diseases, which endanger human life.

II. The beginnings of the Camp and its development.

Already in the first part of 1940 the Nazi authorities had organized a concentration camp in a part of the suburb of Oswięcim — Zasole, the so called Owsianka. At first the camp consisted of military barracks and several buildings of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly situated on the left bank of the river Sola. These barracks consisted of 16 low buildings and four one-storeyed buildings; they could not suffice for the future needs of the whole of Europe conquered by the Germans and formed the germ of the gradually-constructed huge death camp. If the SS. authorities chose as a suitable place for the future big camp a place like Oświęcim and its surroundings, it was due to its situation and climate and to the character of the ground which qualified this place for its name as the most infamous of a long series of concentration camps constructed by the Nazi Germans in Europe. The lack of technical and housing facilities and the fact that the vicinity of Oświęcim corresponds in its geological and climatic conditions with the type of the "Dachauer Moos", with unlimited, constantly quaggy and damp moorland, dim with fog, situated on the heights of Bavaria to the North of Munich, proves, that the choice of Oswięcim for a place of punishment was not accidental, but that, on the contrary, Dachau became the topographical model for the Nazi places of execution. Such places as Dachau and Oswięcim, in the opinion of Prof. Romer, were avoided by life for thousands of years, as death kept watch there. The German authorities used the climate and geographical char acter of Oswięcim with premeditation in their criminal design.

Numerous orders of the command of the Garrison SS in Oswięcim, have proved that the fact that the climate and water were poisonous was known to the camp authorities. Dr. Ing. Zunker Professor of the University of Wroclaw (Breslau) investigated the qualities of the water in the camp at Oswięcim (by order of Himmler) and stated in a written report of the 26 th. III. 1941 (p. 22), that the water used in Oswięcim was not even suitable for rinsing the mouth (...nicht einmal zum Mundspülen verwendet werden kann).

This statement was handed by the Berlin Centre (Der Reichsführer SS, Amtsgruppe C), to the authorities of the camp at Auschwitz, who forbade all the SS-men to use this water without boiling, for drinking and washing the kitchen-utensils; giving as a reason that the use of such water was most dangerous and might cause most serious infection. In many other orders the SSmen were instructed to take different precautions, with a view to avoiding malaria and typhoid fever. All these measures were thought over and applied to maintain the good health standard of the camp SS personel. Nothing of the kind was done for the prisoners.

The sanitary conditions in which they lived were during the whole time of the existence of the camp disastrous, ruining the health of the prisoners, and causing among them a high rate of mortality. The huts which served as a prison and were over-crowded were considered by the camp authorities as a hot-bed of infectious disease. The authorities ordered the members of the SS-staff, when escorting the prisoners, to keep away from them because of the danger of infection. Order Nr. 3/43 of the 14th II 1943 isolated the SSmen who were in direct touch with the prisoners in separate buildings, where they underwent a daily disinfection (order Nr. 15/43 of the 7th VII 1943). Motor-cars were disinfected after each journey carrying prisoners or their clothing (Order Nr. 8/43 of the 20th IV. 1943).

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After the arrival of the first transports in June, 1940, the extension of the camp premises was begun at once. The premises at first consisted of the military barracks, the so-called base camp (Stammlager) during the whole of its existence. From this centre it grew until it became a series of buildings known to the world as "Konzentrationslager Auschwitz", which included 39 subsidiary camps (Nebenlager, Aussenlager, Zwerglager, Arbeitslager) scattered throughout Silesia. The camp at Brno was situated beyond its boundaries.

The accompanying drawing of the camp at Auschwitz (4) illustrates all the branches of this network and the extent to which its influence reached.

A special group called "Zentralabteilung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz" was organised among the camp authorities for planning and extending this immense combination of camps. This group was subordinate through the Command of the camp, to the Main Economic and Administrative Board in Berlin (Wirtschafts-und Verwaltungshauptamt) at the head of which stood SS-Obergruppenführer and General Oswald Pohl. Several hundred engineers, specialists chosen from the prisoners and civilian employees and a similar number of SS-men were working only in this group. This group was particularly answerable to the official group C (Amtsgruppe C) of this board, directed by SS-Gruppenführer and General, Lieutenant SS Dr. Ing. Kammler. At the head of the central construction authorities was SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Bischoff. For his activities Pohl was decorated with the German Silver Cross (Deutsches Kreuz in Silber-Order Nr. 2643 of the 16th VII. 1943), and Bischof with the War Cross of the First Class with Swords (Kriegsverdienstkreuz erster Klasse mit Schwertern-Order Nr. 8/44 of Feb. 25th. 1944).

The size of the camps and the activity of the authorities who constructed them are shown by the fact that in 1942 an average of 8,000 prisoners were working daily, carrying out

the plans sent out by the Berlin Centre, (e. g. on August 31 st 1942 8,353 prisoners were working). In the year 1943 the number of days worked by prisoners amounted to 2,976,380 and by civilians 293,887. And in the year 1944 the construction authorities employed over 4,000 prisoners and 200 civilian prisoners a day on building works (e. g. on June 28th 1944 4,717 prisoners were employed). These data have been taken from authentic specification and employment charts.

As a result of this activity the base camp at Auschwitz grew so much that already by the end of 1941 it could accommodate 18,000 prisoners, (letter of the Chief of the II Board of June 18th 1941), and in the year 1943 it could hold 30,000 prisoners (Aktenvermerk SS-Untersturmführer Dejaco). The original status of this camp, and the gradual stages of its development and plans for its future extension are shown in Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8.

III. "Sonderbehandlung" and "Sonderaktion"

To understand the proper character of the camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau, attention must be drawn to the following facts:

In the autumn of 1941 on the moor of Brzezinka (Birkenau) 3 km. away from the base camp, the construction of a special camp was proposed, ostensibly for prisoners of war (Kriegsgefangenenlager-Official abbreviation K. G. L.) According to that the original plan of the Berlin Centre it was calculated to contain 200,000 prisoners (order of construction of Nov. 1. and Dec. 16. 1941 — assignment of credits and allotment of funds Jan. 9th 1942).

Within the administrative framework of the construction authorities a special section called Sonderbauleitung was organized, and in the official correspondence it is clearly stated that in the constructed camp it was intended "to carry out

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a special treatment of the prisoners" (Durchführung der Sonderbehandlung).

According to Notice No. 32,269/43 a railway track was constructed to serve this camp (Privatgeleisenschluss), the unloading platform of which was situated opposite the gate leading to the crematorium. This track was meant to carry special transports (Sondertransporte).

On the 16th VI. 1944 Pohl allowed (Aktenvermerk Nr. 8580/44) for the construction of three huts of a special character for Jews. (Baracken für die in den letzten Tagen von allen SS-Angehörigen geleistete Arbeit anlässlich der Sonderaktion...) According to the evidence given by the former prisoner of the concentration camp in Auschwitz Nr. 128823, Dr. Otto Wolken, in the days immediately preceding the issue of the above order Nr. 31/43, — 50,000 French Jews were gassed and burnt in the crematoria at Auschwitz.

An authentic key to the reading of this code gives the Bischof's letter of the 13th I. 1943 No. 21242/43, according to which the crematoria are an indispensable arrangement to carry out a special treatment. He wrote in this document as follows: „So sind vor allem die bestellten Türen für das Krematorium im K. G. L., welches zur Durchführung der Sondermassnahmen dringend benötigt wird, umgehend anzuliefern".

The contents of this letter, and the fact that on the camp area at Birkenau four modern crematoria with huge gaschambers were constructed, which were in writing on Dec. 16th 1942 called "Spezialeinrichtungen" and in writing on Aug. 12th 1942 (Aktenvermerk Nr. 12115/42 "Badeanstalt für Sonderaktion", prove that under the cryptograms: Sonderbehandlung, Sondermassnahme and Sonderaktion the German authorities were concealing the mass murder of millions of people, and that the special camp constructed for the carrying on of this Sonderbehandlug was already by assumption a huge extermination camp (Vernichtungslager).

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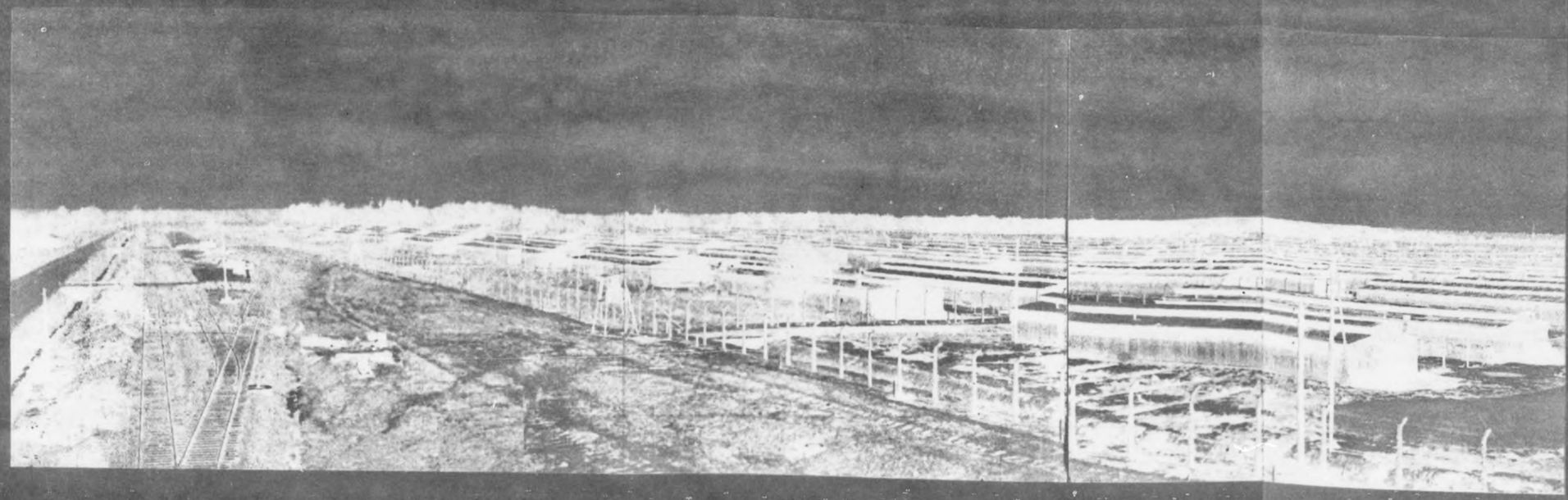

Fig. 9. Panorama of Section B II of the camp at Birkenau (Brzezinka)

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Fig. 12. Entrance gateway to the centre of the camp at Oświęcim

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Fig. 13. Watch tower and section of fence

Fig. 14. Fence, showing Block 11

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Figs. 15, 16. Himmler at Oświęcim

According to this assumption it grew in practice into the largest extermination camp, not only in Poland, but also in the whole of Europe, in which only those were left alive among the prisoners who were indispensable to the munition factories and other industrial establishments working for the Army and for the war at Auschwitz and in the whole of Silesia.

The highest authorities of the IIIrd Reich as well as those who carried out orders on the spot at Auschwitz were conscious of the purposes of the camp, and did everything to enable this camp to fulfill completely its mission of extermination of the conquered nations of Europe with the Slav nations and the Jews in first order of importance.

The only buildings calculated for long-lasting and constant use were the four big crematoria with gas-chambers, and the barracks for the SS-men who staffed the camp. The rest of the settlements, and particularly the huts for the prisoners, were destined from the beginning for the short and transitory existence in them of a constantly changing tide of prisoners.

IV. Arrangements and organization of the Camp

Both centres of the camp i. e Stammlager and Birkenau (Lagergebiet) were enclosed with a fence made of barbed wire four metres in height, through which ran an electric current of high tension. On the poles of the fence search-lights burned at night with their beams turned to the interior of the camp. Along the fence were high watch-towers in which the SS-men kept guard during the day and in the night, armed with quick-firing machine-guns. In the base camp a second line of barbed wire (Drahthinderniss), was constructed later, and on both sides of it were constructed wire safety barriers (Sicherheitsdraht). From the direction of the road and from the east the base camp was protected by a high wall of concrete blocks, with barbed wire at the top, and from the west with

buildings housing the camp authorities and administration. The entrance gate to the base camp, above which hung the inscription "Arbeit macht frei", was at the back of the camp, inaccessible and invisible to non-authorised persons. A view of the entrance gate, the fence and other safety arrangements are shown in Fig. 12, 13, 14.

The enclosure at Birkenau was based on the same system, with the one difference that the whole area of the camp was divided into three sections, divided from each other by internal barbed-wire fences through which electric current ran, and cut by deep trenches (Ringgräben). The area of the camp, with a surface of about 175 ha, was enclosed and cut all over by a network of trenches, of 13,000 metres in length, and with a chain of fence more than 16,000 metres in length. Both centres were ringed around by a large chain of sentries (Grosse Postenkette) for a distance of one km. around both camps, and guarded by armed SS-men and patrols of a "Hounds Company". (Sperrgebiet). This company consisted only of SS-men and was officially called Hundesstaffel. It was allowed to cross the boundaries of the enclosed area only by special permit. In case of alarm this whole area was completely closed. According to the Acts of BW 210, the camp authority intended to enclose the whole ground with a supplementary fence of barbed wire. This project was not realised, however, owing to the non-avaailability of iron necessary for its construction. By order of the Berlin Centre, according to the plan BW 199, a velley was constructed of barbed wire at the end of 1944, the so called "corridor of lions" (Löwengang), leading from the main gate of the camp to the German munition plants (Deutsche Ausrüstugswerke) and to the branch of the Krupp establishments producing at Auschwitz, under the firm „Union" grenade fusses. Although both factories were situated in an enclosure ringed around by sentries the arrangement of this valley of barbed wire was found to be useful.

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Further means of preventing the prisoners'flight were introduced after 1943, such as tattooing the prisoners, and immediate change of clothing after arrival at the camp into conspicuous prisoner's dress. Notwithstanding all these precautions, there occurred instances of escape of prisoners from the camp, and so the system of "collective responsibility", and the responsibility of the prisoner's family was introduced. In the former case, by an order of Fritsch, 10 prisoners, companions of the run-away, were shot, and in the latter case the family of the deserter were brought into the camp, and had to stand at roll-call with an inscription that they were in prison in place of their sons, husbands or brothers who had escaped, and that they would stay in the camp until the run-away had been re-captured.

A whole section of the land round the camp comprising more than 40 km. was occupied and laid out as the economic area of the camp (Interessengebiet). The inhabitants of Zasole, a big suburb of Oswiecim, were expelled as well as those in 10 villages situated between the rivers Wisla (Vistula) and Sola so that this economic expanse embraced the whole area from the islet on the Sola near Bielany up to where the estuary of the Sola flows into the Vistula near the village of Broszkowice. These lands were regarded as the property of the SS and the German State (Reichseigenesgebiet).

In the office of the Political Department forms were found containing a printed statement to the effect that everything that was alive, was born and grew at Auschwitz was the unquestionable property of the SS.

As the area of Auschwitz and its vicinity was incorporated in the Reich, the local legislation in force in the concentration camp was laid down by the Gestapo H. Q. Centre in Berlin (§2 Act 4 regul. 10. II 1936 GS p. 22), and particularly by the Chief of the Official Group D (Amtsgruppe D) of the Main Economic and Administrative Board located in Oranien-

burg. The full name of this office was: Der Reichsführer SS-Wirtschafts - Verwaltungshauptamt Amtsgruppe D-Konzentrationslager (Organisationsbuch, 7th edition p. 420). In July 1943 this name was changed, and the supplement: Konzentrationslager (Order No 26/43 of the 16. VII. 43) was omitted.

At the head of the camp stood a Commandant, who was simultaneously in chief command of the SS garrison at Auschwitz and Chief of the armed force of the camp, consisting of 12 look-out companies (SS-Totenkopfsturmbann). This function was successively performed by SS - Obersturmbannführers: Rudolf Hös, Liebehenschel and Richard Baer. The First Director Manager of the camp[1]) was directly liable to the Commandant. This post was occupied by Langner, Fritsch, Aumeier, Schwarz, Hoffmann und Hessler, all SS-men with the rank of officer. Prisoners were in the first instance in direct contact with the report-managers (Raportführer) and managers of the block (Blockführer).

During the construction of the camp at Auschwitz the base camp was marked as camp A I, the newly-constructed part of the camp (Schutzhaftlagerweiterung) as Camp A II, the first section at Birkenau — as camp B I, divided into Fields A, and B; the men's section of Birkenau — as camp B II, divided into fields A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and finally a third constructed section in Birkenau was known as Camp B III (order Nr 14/43 of the 18. V. 1943).

By a garrison order of the 12. XI. 1943 Nr. 53/43 signed by Himmler, Liebehenschel carried out the division of the whole camp into three, namely: concentration camp Auschwitz I - Stammlager, concentration camp Auschwitz II - Brzezinka and concentration camp III-secondary camps (Aussenlager).

These later were organised by mining and other industrial, forestry and agricultural establishments, to whom the camp authorities sold the working power of the prisoners at the

[1]) Schutzlagerführer.

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rate of 6 RM for a day for an unskilled worker (files of the oil refiners in Trzebionka). The camp authorities calculated their own costs of maintaining a prisoner at 30 pfennigs a day (letter of the Ing. Lhotzky p. 17). The above figures show that the camp authorities made heavy profits from slave labour. From the files of the oil refinery at Trzebionka, in which 600 prisoners from Auschwitz were working it is shown that the net profit to the concentration camp from this activity amounted in a period of two months to 106.789,60 RM.

At the head of each main camp stood a commandant and managers of the camp for prisoners' affairs. The secondary camps were managed by directors (Lagerführer). The general administrative medical, political and other work concerned with the employment of the prisoners was carried out centrally for all the camps from the base camp, where special central sections existed for the handling of these problems.

On Nov. 25 th 1944 the camp of Birkenau was incorporated with the base camp, which was officially named Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, and the camp at Auschwitz III was transformed into Konzentrationslager Monowice (order Nr. 29/44). This transformation caused no real change in the organization. The object was to minimise deceitfully the camp by the centralization of its administration, and to create in this way the appearances of two camps independent of each other; one at Auschwitz and the other at Monowice. In this locality huge establishments were constructed for the firm I. G. Farbenindustrie producing synthetic benzine and other chemical products. These establishments employed 25,000 prisoners of Auschwitz, about 100.000 civilian workers and about 1,000 English prisoners - of - war.

Through such an artifice the name of the camp at Birkenau disappeared from the list of the Nazi concentration camps, disgraced in the eyes of the whole world as the largest of the extermination camps. Similar frauds had been carried out in

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Auschwitz already by the changing of the name F. K. L. (Frauenkonzentrationslager) to F. L. = Frauenlager (Order Nr 7/43 of the 30. III. 1943 and the name K. G. L. (Kriegsgefangenlager), to Lager II (Aktenvermerk, as from the 31 III. 1944). New names ought to prove that women did not live in the concentration camp and that in the Ausschwitz camp there were no prisoners-of-war. Both one and the other were obvious lies, as the regime in that part of the camp in which the women were imprisoned, was the same as in the remaining parts of the camp, and as far as the prisoners of war were concerned, 96 Russian prisoners of war are inscribed in the list of the prisoners in the camp on the day of the 17th I 1945 (bring the surviving remnants of 16,000 murdered prisoners registered in the camp).

Such was the appearance and thus was organised the concentration camp at Auschwitz, through which millions of people passed and from which only an insignificant percentage came out alive.

Himmler personally supervised the establishment of this camp (see figs. 15 and 16) during his inspection of the camp at Oswięcim.

V. Prisoners

The first prisoners in the concentration camp at Auschwitz were 30 professional German criminals, who were brought to Auschwitz at the beginning of June 1940, after having spent many years in other concentration camps in Germany. SS-men had chosen them as the executors of their criminal plans, and in the first place as instructors in the laws and regulations of the camp. They had received special instructions on how they must treat Polish political prisoners. They could beat and torture them and were not responsible to anyone. These prisoners filled the posts of camp seniors (Lagerälteste) foremen of working companies (Blockälteste) roomorderlies (Stubendienst) Capo and Obercapo and Foremen (Vorarbeiter). They did not disappoint the hopes which had been placed in them, and they grafted their ideas of morality upon whole series of other keepers, whom they chose from among the most brutal individuals and professional criminals.

On the 14th VI. 1940 the first transport of Poles arrived at Auschwitz. Innumerable others followed which in the first period of the existence of the camp brought Poles exclusively, and later on Poles and citizens of all the conquered nations, and citizens of other countries, found in the occupied countries during the German invasion.

From the fragments of records which were found, and particularly bundles of questionnaires amounting to about twenty undestroyed by the Germans it appears that the following nationals were found among the prisoners: Americans, Austrians, Belgians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Croats, Czechs, French, Greek, Dutch, Spaniards, Serbs, Lithuanians, Latvians, Germans, Norwegians, a Persian, Poles, Russians, Roumanians, Slovaks, Swiss, Turks, Hungarians, Italians, Jews from Palestine and one Egyptian.

Among the citizens of so many different countries mentioned here indubitably the most numerous group was formed by Polish citizens (Poles and Jews) next the Russians, Serbs and French, but in general the majority of the prisoners were of other nationalities than Polish — prisoners of Jewish origin. Especially numerous among the Jews from abroad were Hungarian, Czech and Slovak Jews, and Jews from Germany, Greece and Holland.

To the camp in Auschwitz people were brought of both sexes and various ages, belonging to different social groups, professions and religions, and being as a rule quite innocent people whose guilt even the Germans did not try to prove. The vast majority of prisoners were recruited from people who had nothing in common with any political activity, people brought

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to the camp only because of their nationality or of their race. They were doomed for slave labour or to extermination simply because they were Poles, Jews, Gypsies, Soviet prisoners, etc.

The requisite number of prisoners was regulated according to the size of the concentration camp and to its power of absorption. The prisoners were captured by the Gestapo during specially organised man-hunts, by arresting whole loads of passengers in trains, by raids on public premises, and on whole areas of towns, and finally by mass arrests in their homes of thousands of people, and the expulsion of whole districts of the country side (the region of Zamość).

All these were imprisoned in the concentration camp as a safeguard (Schutzhaft) according to an order of the Nazi Government of the Reich of the Feb. 8 th 1933 regarding the defence of the nation and State issued after the mystery of the burning of Reichstag, although this order never was in force in the countries occupied by the Germans. This lawlesness was all the more glaring in that people were included in this "security arrest" whose alleged guilt was never put to the test by trial.

Destruction of the Jews

For the Polish Jews Oswięcim was as a rule an extermination camp, as it was for the Jews of other European countries[1]).

[1]) A special small group was composed of Jewish prisoners-of-war, who had fallen into German hands with arms in their hands. They were taken from the camps where they were interned as prisoners-of-war and confined like the criminals in concentration camps. (In the EC. at Majdanek a card-index with 6000 names of such prisoners was found). At Oświęcim prisoner No 85512 was an English doctor Sperber, who had been taken from a torpedoed British ship, where he had been serving as doctor with officers'rank, and had at first been placed in an officer-prisoners'camp for British, but on December 19. 1942 was transferred to Oświęcim.

The Jews, morally and physicaly ill-used by insults and treatment not fit for human beings, ruined by the extortion of heavy financial contributions and constant removal from place to place in Europe, were lured to Auschwitz by false promises of transfer to various jobs in Poland and the Ukraine. In this way they were tricked out of their property which they were told to take with them to begin life with in new lands and of which they were robbed immediately they left the train at Auschwitz. The Gestapo even concluded contracts with the Greek Jews for the purchase of small-holdings and shops in the Ukraine. Others were promised that they were to be exchanged for German prisoners of war interned in England and asked when they arrived at Auschwitz how far it was to the English Channel. They were advised before departure to the camp to take with them a suit of working clothes and everything they possessed of value, and told that they would need these things in their new homes as each would be able to work in his own trade or profession. By this subterfuge a huge store of different tools, medical instruments and other useful and valuable things was accumulated at Auschwitz.

After their arrival at Auschwitz, at the moment the train stopped at the railway siding, the Jews were driven out from the wagons and their belongings thrown on the loading platform, from whence a special working party of prisoners carried them into huge stores, called "Canada" (this name being given by the prisoners to the stores because the wealth deposited in them, was afterwards taken by the camp authorities and used officially).

At the same time the SS doctors chose from amongst those who had arrived only a small number of young Jews fit for work, and the rest were sent directly from the unloading platform to the gas-chambers, where they were all suffocated by gas. So the first victims of murders were the sick, old, pregnant women, women with infants and children. If the cre-

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matoria could not absorb all the victims, they were placed in the camp as a deposit (the official name Depot-Häftlinge), and were not registered in the record of the prisoners, but after emptying the crematoria they were gassed and burnt. The same happened to the healthy, young and strong people who were not needed by the camp authorities as a working strength at the moment of the arrival of the transport. Only those were taken into the camp who were needed to fill up the gaps which arose in the working gangs. Because of this system a great number of transports did not pass through the camp, at all, and the victims went directly from the unloading platform to the gas chambers after being robbed. The number of prisoners taken into the camp from Jewish transports amounted to an average of about 10% of all the people who were brought to Auschwitz. According to statistical data collected only from one field "A", being a section of the B II camp in Birkenau, there arrived at this field from Oct. 21st 1943 to the Oct. 30th 1944 only 7,253 men, in 76 railway transports and the rest, i. e. 24,688 men, all the women and all the children went directly from the trains into the gas-chambers. These reports are completed by the evidence of the following prisoners, cross-questioned as witnesses: prisoner No. 102160, Adam Ciechanowiecki, stated that from a transport of 1,200 persons who came to Auschwitz on March 9 th 1943 from Drancy, near Paris, only 140 persons were taken into the camp, and the rest, i. e. 1060 persons were directed straight to the gas-chambers. The witness Szlama Dragon arrived at Auschwitz on Dec. 7 th 1942 in a transport of 2,500 persons, of whom only 400 were saved ,and Jakob Gordon from Wilno arrived. on June 22nd 1943 in a transport consisting of 3,650 persons of whom only 345 persons were taken into the camp. The rest, among them Gordon's wife, his little son of 4 years and a half, his father of 73 and his mother of 64 were gassed and burnt immediately after their arrival at Oświęcim.

Plunder of the victims' property.

All the belongings of the victims were stored in special huts. In the Canada Stores there were separate compartments for men's, women's and children's clothing, and for different articles of value. Objects were discovered by the help of a specially constructed X-ray apparatus (BW 160) in search of concealed valuables, and afterwards sorted for transmission to the Reich. These were gifts of the SS to German families, and valuables were sent to the Treasury of the German State.

A member of the military staff of Auschwitz, SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Bergmann, said in the presence of the witness Artur Mayer, that the SS took valuables from the Jews in Auschwitz amounting to the value of about 1,000,000,000 Reichs Marks, but that in reality the value of those things was much higher. According to a report of the witness, Bergmann then said literally the following: "jetzt nahmen wir dem Saujudenpack ca 1 Milliarde RM in Brillianten ab, welche ich nach Berlin brachte, aber ausserdem sorgten wir auch für uns selber". A confirmation of the report that the SS men, when getting hold the belongings of deported persons, did not forget about themselves ,is the order of the Commandant of the Garrison Nr. 51/43 of Nov. 16 th 1943, in which he said literally as follows: „Ich habe Veranlassung, letztmalig daruf hinzuweisen, dass das Eigentum der Häftlinge, ganz gleich, um was es handelt (Kleidungsstücke, Gold und Wertsachen, Esswaren und sonstige persönliche Gegenstände), auch ganz gleich, wo es sich befindet oder gesichtet wird, unangetastet bleibt. Über die Verwendung des Eigentumes der Häftlinge entscheidet der Staat und es wird somit dieses Eigentum Staatseigentum. Wer sich an Staatseigentum vergreift, stempelt sich selbst zum Verbrecher und schliesst sich von selber aus der Reihen der SS aus". This order was quite explained by the behaviour and conduct of the SSmen and is confirmed by the fact, that SS-Rotten-

führer, Lubusch Edward ordered the prisoner Kula to construct for his private use a machine to roll gold in ingots.

The distribution of things robbed from prisoners, and particularly the distribution of clothing and the despatch of parcels into the Reich, was forbidden by the Berlin Centre, the reason for this being that the parcels on their way might be damaged, and the uninitiated might get to know that in these parcels was clothing stained with blood, and full of bullet holes, (order of the Amtsgruppe D of the 11th VII. 1942).

The extent of this robbery is proved by the fact that on the site of the camp at Auschwitz there were 35 special stores to sort and pack clothing and other articles. The Germans before their evacuation burnt 29 stores together with their contents. In the remaining 6 stores there were found: 348,820 complete men's suits of clothes, 836,255 women's complete outfits, 5,525 pairs of women's shoes, 38,000 pairs of men's shoes, 13,964 carpets and large number of tooth-brushes, shaving-brushes, spectacles, artificial limbs, all kind of kitchen utensils and also children's clothing. From the report of SS-Oberscharführer Reichenbach among the records of the camp, it appears that during for instance, days from Dec. 1st 1944 to Jan. 15th 1945, 99,922 suits of clothing and children's underwear, 192,652 suits of clothing and women's underwear and 222,269 sets of men's suits of clothes and underwear were sent to Germany from the camp at Auschwitz. The trade marks on the things found in these stores prove strikingly that their owners, murdered in Oświęcim, belonged to the nationalities of all the countries conquered by the Germans.

The photographs below represent some of the stores with the things found there, which the Germans did not succeed in carrying away from Auschwitz to the Reich.

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The working prisoners.

What happened to the transports of prisoners who were destined for slave-labour? (among whom the Jews amounted to only a very small percentage).

The prisoners who were not at once condemned to death were strictly surveyed, registered and given numbers. From the moment of passing through the camp-gates and getting his number a man ceased to be a personality and became a cypher without free-will. 400,000 passed in this way through the camp and were registered in turn. Under the general series for men and women came sub-sections, i. e. series A and B classified male and female Gipsies, series R Russian prisoners while series E comprised prisoners brought in from "educational" motives.

The prisoner wore the camp number sewn on his clothing and at the beginning of the year 1942 it was also tattooed on the left forearm. Since the introduction of tattooing all the prisoners, with the exception of the Reichs and Volksdeutsche, were tattooed. The full distinguishing mark of the prisoner consisted of the number written on a white linen band, with coloured triangles signifying the type of prisoner, with the initial letter of the prisoner's nationality. This sign was worn by the prisoners on the left breast of their blouse or jacket and was also sewn on the outside seam of the right trouser leg. Triangles were in use: red for political prisoners, black for prostitutes and perverts, green for professional criminals, pink for the homo-sexuals and violet for the clergy and Investigators of the Holy Bible. The Jews wore at first a star of David, and afterwards above the triangle a yellow stripe. The initial letter of the name of the nationality was written with black Chinese ink on the triangles.

The destiny of these cypher-prisoners was slave labour until their strength was exhausted , when death was their release. Before harnessing them into the yoke of one of the 300 la-

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bour gangs, amounting to 50—1200 prisoners, they all were obliged to pass through the procedure of being enrolled into the camp. The aim of the process was to change a free man into an obedient number without his own will, to kill in him the feeling of human dignity and to make him a servile labouring unit.

Quarantine.

The process of admission into the camp is described by witnesses as follows: the unloading platform at Auschwitz and the whole road to the camp was heavily guarded by SSmen, who also lay in the ditches along the roadside with their guns ready. All the SSmen were armed as well with sticks and had police-dogs. Amidst constant beating the prisoners were driven to the place of roll-call, where they were paraded before SSman standing on a table, and beaten by others standing around. On the opposite side the new-comers were ranged in rows of ten: There were the Capo, consisting of the first 30 professional criminals brought from Germany in the character of supervisors, who took rings, watches, and tore from the necks of the prisoners their chains and medallions, beating in the process some prisoners into unconsciousness.

In the group, in which the witness Michal Kula came to the camp on August 15th 1940, there was a young priest from Warsaw. The SSmen and Capos turned his hat upside down, put round his neck a loop of a string, and tied the other end of the string round his waist. They gave him a broom to hold. In this guise he was obliged to run around the whole group, while it was being driven from the place of the roll-call on the yard between blocks XV and XVI. The SSmen and Capos tortured him mercilessly and beat him with sticks until he fell unconscious.

On the yard between the XVth and XVIth blocks the prisoners were obliged to undress completely and give up their clothes. Afterwards their hair was cut and they received their numbers. Then the whole group was driven amid constant blows to the baths. There was no possibility whatever of bathing, it was only possible to splash some cold water on oneself. In the same building there was also a medical inspection, which consisted of the physician asking the prisoner if he was well, and whatever his answer, he was instructed to go further. From the bath the prisoners were driven to the next yard,on which lay two big heaps of prisoners's clothes made of striped ticking. The prisoners were obliged to put these clothes on while running and were afterwards obliged to line up at the place of roll-call. By such a method of out fitting a stout man often got a blouse which covered only half of his breast, while a small prisoner got clothing too big for him. It was the same, with the shoes. After such a fitting-out the prisoners who arrived in the same group of ten could not recognise each other.

Those prisoners were lucky whose admission procedure was completed in one day, as they had the chance to spend the night under a roof. If, however, the transport arrived at Auschwitz in the afternoon, they were obliged sometimes to spend the whole night naked in the open air after their things were taken away regardless of the season of the year or the weather. As a result of this, for instance out of a transport including the prisoner Wolken, 42 prisoners did not live through the night until the morning. Others spent the night naked in the bath house, where with a temperature of about 20 degrees below zero cold water was poured on them from time to time.

Late in the evening of Dec. 5 th. 1943, there arrived at Auschwitz a transport containing 1200 prisoners from Flossenburg. Eighty of the most weak the Commandant of the camp

left lying in the snow. At the order of the Commandant water was poured on them to speed up the freezing process. A part of these victims were carried by the prisoners to the blocks, the remaining 32 died by morning. Only one man survived that night by remaining under the corpses of three others, but even he died the following day (witness Wolken).

During the whole period of admission there was no possibility whatever of eating or drinking. In Summer prisoners died of thirst.

After the formalities of enrolment were completed and after being tattooed the prisoners were driven into quarantine camp, where some victims had to stay for 8 weeks. It was a period of testing the physical endurance of the future slaves, organized in such a way, that only the healthiest could endure it. From statistics of the quarantine block in Birkenau (B IIa) which contained an average of 4,000 to 6,000 prisoners, it is seen that during the period from September 1943 to November 1944 4023 prisoners were so seriously ill that they were obliged to go to hospital, 1902 died and 3233 prisoners were selected for gassing as unfit for further work. The numbers of sick did not include prisoners cured in the infirmary, who were in many instances seriously ill but afraid to go to hospital on account of possible selection. They averaged about 500 persons daily.

These figures become understandable only when the conditions in the quarantine hospital are taken into account. Hundreds of people were crowded together in stables built for 52 horses, and often more than a thousand people were compelled to huddle on plank beds built in tiers one over the other. They slept without even straw mattresses and blankets on the bare boards. When there was no room in the huts they spent the night in the open air. During the day they were tormented by killing work of ditch-digging, draining swamps or standing idly barefooted from 4.30 in the morning till late in the evening, regardless of the season of the year and the

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Fig. 17. Bedding (rugs and carpets at the back) left by the gassed

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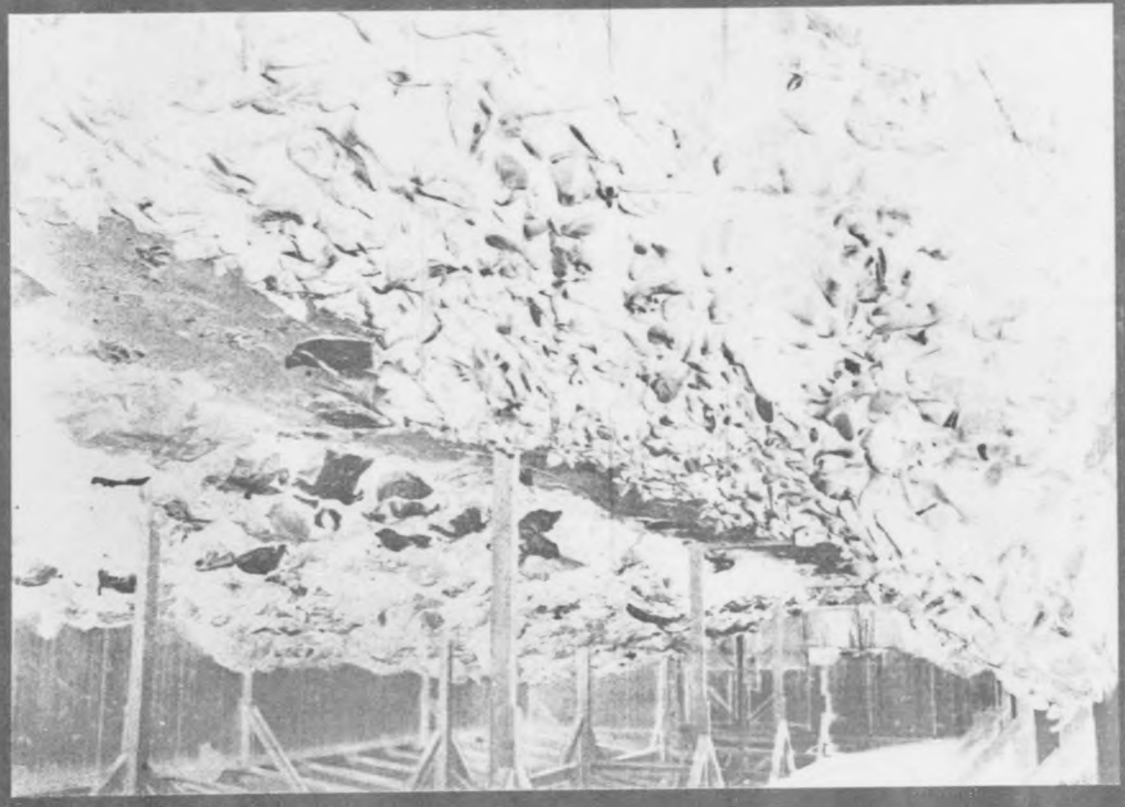

Fig. 19. Gassed women's boots

Fig. 18. Clothing of murdered children

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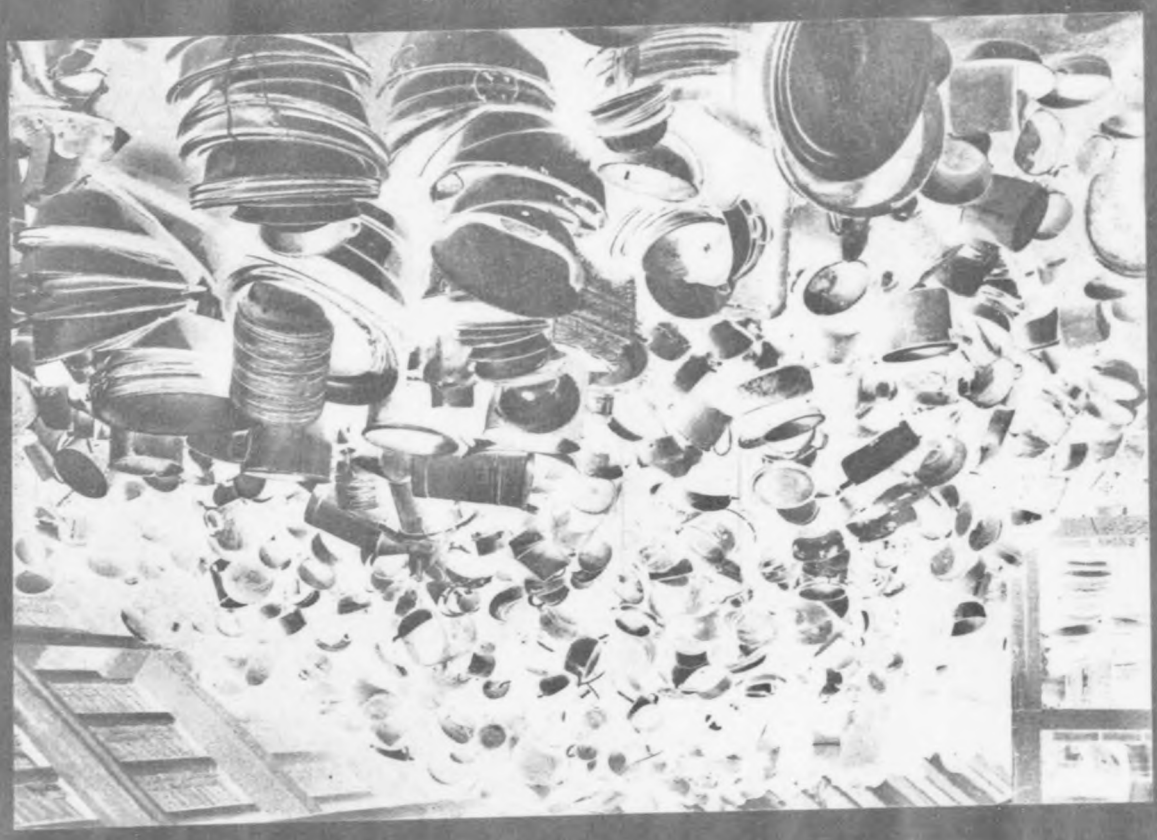

Fig. 21. Victims' kitchen utensils

Fig. 20. Victims' suit-cases and boxes

Fig. 22. Victims' hair-brushes and tooth-brushes

Fig. 23. Victims' combs

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Fig. 24. Shaving-brushes

Fig. 25. A heap of spectacles

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Fig. 26. Artificial limbs left by disabled men who were murdered

Konz.-Lager Auschwitz
Abteilung III

Auschwitz, den 24. Oktober 1942.

Zum Personalakt

Meldung

Ich melde den Katz, Ludevit Iar. - geb. 13.3.25.

Schutz —, Vorb. —, Aso. —, Erz. — Juden —, Häftling Nr. 64495 /14

weil er trotz Verbot hinter Haus 7 seine Großnotdurft verrichtete.

BEKANNTGEGEBEN
14. Nov. 1942

SS-Hauptsturmführer

SS-Hauptsturmführer

3 x Bezzelle

Gesehen u. weitergeleitet:
Der 1. Schutzhaftlagerführer

Vor- u. Zuname

SS - Oberscharführer
Dienstgrad

20. NOV. 1942

Fig. 27. Notice of 3 nights' standing upright in cell, punishment for using the back of a hut as latrine

Konz.-Lager Auschwitz
Abteilung III

Auschwitz, den 10.11.42

Zum Personalakt

Meldung

Ich melde den, die Schutz—, Vorb.—, Aso.—, Erz.—, Bife. — Juden — Häftling Nr. 55216 /179

Fikman Mendel 12.2.oe. Grojec
Name Vorname gem. du

weil er trotz meiner wiederholten Verwarnung von der Arbeit zu drücken versucht hatte und aus Widerwillen zur Arbeit mit den 14 weiteren Häftlingen 3 Betonröhre beim Abladen zerbrach. Ausserdem die Mithäftlinge von der Arbeit abgehalten und selbige lächerlich gemacht hatte.

14. Nov. 1942

BEKANNTGEGEBEN

Siehe Häftlingsgeld Nr. [illegible]

Strafe: 6 Wochen- Stehzelle

SS-Hauptsturmführer

SS-Hauptsturmführer

Gesehen u. weitergeleitet:
Der 1. Schutzhaftlagerführer

20. NOV. 1942

Vor- u. Zuname

SS-Unterscharführer
Dienstgrad

SS-Hauptsturmführer

Fig. 28. Six weeks' standing in the cells for breaking concrete pipes while unloading

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Fig. 29. Prisoner in camp dress

weather. What was perhaps the worst of all was the „sports" and "gymnastics".

During this period the prisoners were taught to line-up in rows of five, to take off their caps and to march in straight lines. They learned very quickly, for they were taught with a stick. During the hours of "sports" the prisoners were surrounded by the SS-men, and Capos and beaten. They were forced to crouch, to jump, to dance with uplifted hands, to run in a circle bare-footed on the gravelled square. Many lost their strength and fell to the ground in the first hours of such "gymnastics". Those were dragged aside by the Capos, where often the senior of the camp, Leo, finished them off by putting a stick into their mouths. Those that were sluggish in running were often caught by an SS-man, taken behind the building of the VIIIth Block, and there killed. The slightest effort to straighten the body during the crouching exercise produced kicks and blows. The prisoners were ordered to roll in their underclothes, and afterwards they were told to have clean and washed linen within half an hour although no soap and water were provided.

At 12 o'clock the prisoners were lined up for roll-call, which lasted 45 minutes. After a further 15 minutes which were allowed to the prisoners for eating soup, they were lined up by the SS-men and the seniors of the camp on the place of the roll-call and taught to sing vulgar German songs, such as "O du mein Bubikopf" or "Im Lager Auschwitz war ich zwar so manchen Monat so manches Jahr". All the Jews were herded together and forced to sing a derisive German song ("O du mein Jerusalem"). Such a choir was often conducted by a Catholic priest. Those prisoners who did not know German could not understand and memorize the text of the song, so the Capos, displeased with the singing, ordered them to sing in a crouched position or lying on the ground beat them face downwards. Prisoners, lying in such a position, were beaten and trampled on. The singing lasted until 3 p. m., then

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the prisoners were trained in "gymnastics" till 6,30 p. m. Later came the ordeal of the evening roll-call, which lasted about 2 hours. Some groups of prisoners were compelled to stand at attention from 9 in the evening until noon the following day with their hands behind their heads. Reflectors shone on them at night, the SS-men keeping close watch to see that no prisoner dropped his hands. If it so happened that the weaker among them did so, they were beaten and tormented. In consequence of this treatment, out of a particular group of 265 only 60 stuck it till the end; the rest fell unconscious, only to be revived by having water thrown on them, and beaten.

Others were driven away to the place of roll-call where they received the commands of the Unterscharfuhrer: "Fall, stand, crawl, wallow", and forced to crouch four-time. If one raised himself from a pool of water in which he was told to roll, the Unterscharführer forced him with his heel to the ground. Dr Kruczek was a victim of this "sport".

One day 50 prisoners were ordered to climb a very slender young tree. According to the order they were to climb all at once to the top of this tree, which was, of course, impossible, as the tree broke at once after the first few people had climbed it. During these "gymnastics" the prisoners were beaten firstly because they were not yet up the tree, and secondly for having broken the tree. During the "sport" many prisoners died. The rest were injured, and their feet swelled up from the constant running without shoes on the gravel, nails and barbed wire.

The sick and wounded were allowed to go to the doctor, who in many cases gave them a card stating they were only fit for sitting down work. Such prisoners were employed in cleaning old mortar from bricks. This work was carried out by the prisoners sitting on the sharpened end of a wooden stake which was buried in the ground. The Capos and SS-men watched closely to see that the prisoner worked the whole day long sitting down. If anyone raised himself or fell down he was

beaten till he lost consciousness then he was left without any help.

After returning to the Block the prisoners were only allowed to go to the latrines after the distribution of rations. In the latrines thousands of people crowded and there they were also beaten. In such conditions the quarantine camp was a succession of torments. The people did not know what to do, and where to hide themselves as they were tortured everywhere and all dreamt of being transferred to the working camp from the quarantine in the hope that things there would be easier to endure.

The work

They did not realise that the same ill treatment would meet them there.

Among the camp authorities there existed a special section (Arbeitseinsatz) for exploiting the labour of the prisoners of the Auschwitz camp. This section divided the prisoners into special working gangs and posted them to work in industrial plants and mines, scattered over the whole of Silesia. In the immediate vicinity of Oswięcim the Germans constructed a big chemical factory in Monowice (Buna) and established a Krupp "Union". Through this work people were reduced to an extreme state of exhaustion by work in draining swamps and marshes, in the mines and on road construction. Some working groups were obliged to walk 7—8 km. to their work. The SS-men ranged the prisoners in units, and surrounded by an escort armed with sticks, hounds and overseers, they were driven to work. During the work, which was carried on in complete silence, and as rule running, the prisoners were beaten under the slightest pretext. One for not straightening his back, another for not taking enough earth in his

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shovel and another for going aside, suffering from dysentery, to attend to the wants of nature.

Any attempt to rest during the hours of labour, or an accident during work resulting in material loss to the camp was treated and punished as sabotage.

Those who fell from fatigue were shot on the spot. The place of labour was at the same time a scene of mass murder.

A prisoner's day began with reveille at 4.30 a.m and finished at varying times up to late in the night according to the distance from the camp of the labour site.

The working gangs went to their labours to the tune of the camp orchestra, in which prisoners were playing standing at the gate. In the evening they came back from all parts of the Auschwitz-camp bleeding, exhausted, carrying the corpses of their comrades on wooden stretchers, on their backs, or dragged in carts. The camp orchestra also played to this procession of ghosts and corpses. The corpses of the murdered comrades were also laid out for the roll-call in order to be counted, as the number of prisoners must always correspond to the camp lists. The fact that they were dead or alive was a matter of indifference.

Some of the camp regulations were an obvious encouragement to murder prisoners. Of such a character was the payment of a premium to the SS-men for shooting prisoners who left their work. The prisoners were first ordered by the SS-men to run on in front and then were shot as "runaways". A short report "shot while escaping" was the end of the matter ("auf der Flucht erschossen") and the premium was duly paid for preventing the flight of a prisoner. It is seen from Orders 33/34, 88/43 and a series of others that the SS-men were rewarded for such exploits by several days leave also.

The Jews and priests were set to do the hardest work. Huge rollers were brought in on the work of extending the base camp, to the two shafts of which were harnessed Jews and priests. They had to drag the rollers all day long to the accompaniment

of blows. The driver was a German prisoner, Krankenmann. Those who fell from exhaustion were killed under the blows of this executioner's stick. He murdered in this way nearly all the priests and numerous Jews. Some prisoners dragged carts loaded with earth and stones, while others were forced to carry loads exceeding their strength. In the stores containing material for construction work 10 prisoners had to unload 480 sacks of cement in two hours. This worked out at 48 sacks of 50 kilograms each per prisoner. As the stores were located 150 metres from the railway track they had thus to travel 15 kilometres in two hours, carrying for half this distance a load of 50 kilograms.

The unloading of potatoes, from the train went on in the same conditions. Near the wagons stood stretchers loaded with about 150 kg. of potatoes, which two prisoners were obliged to carry running to the mounds. The road was guarded by a file of Capos and overseers, who forced the prisoners to hurry with sticks. This work was done running. After several hours the stretchers were falling from the hands of the prisoners, and the elders dropped from fatigue. Such weaker workers were regarded as saboteurs and were forced to continue working with blows under which they died. Their corpses were thrown into a nearby ditch, from whence they were taken before finishing the work by a special "Fleischwagen", or motor car for collecting the corpses from the place of work.

The bored SS-men often beat the working prisoners for amusement and women, dressed in the uniforms of the S.S. accompanied them for pleasure. The witness Walman told us about the following incident: a group of SS-men accompanied by dogs and German women approached a group of prisoners who were digging a deep ditch for burning the corpses near the crematoria. The SS-men ordered them to load 60 wheelbarrows with earth and to push them along a high earthen wall over the edge of the hole. They then released their dogs

to chase them. The prisoners, nervously and physically exhausted, fell down with the wheelbarrows into the hole, and most of them were killed. The SS-men shot those prisoners who remained alive. The same performance was repeated by the SS-men the same afternoon. The women who accompanied them were very amused.

During the digging of the basements for the XVth block in the base camp, the following scene took place: The German prisoner Reinhold, being the Capo of a group which was working there threw an old Jew into a hole filled with water in the presence of his son who was working in the same group. When the father lifted himself from the water and tried to get out of the hole, Reinhold and the SS-men ordered the son to descend into the ditch and to drown the father. The son was compelled to fulfil this order, he descended into the ditch seized his father by his neck, put his head into the water and held it under as long as his father showed signs of life. The SS-men ordered the son to climb back to the edge of the ditch, where Reinhold and another prisoner, a German, seized him by his hands and feet, swung his body and threw him into the ditch, where other Jews working in the water digging for gravel were forced to drown him.

VI. The fate of the Soviet prisoners

The Russian prisoners of war, who, according to a secret order of the Chief of Official Group D, issued from Oranienburg on Nov. 15 th. 1941, were directed to the concentration camp for extermination were treated in a specially barbaric way. The contents of this order are as follows: The Reichsführer FF and the Chief of the German police gave in principle his consent for the postponement of the extermination of those Russian prisoners who were strong enough to work in the quarries. It is necessary therefore to obtain the permission of the Chief of the Security Police and the SD Service. In order for this purpose; that the commandant of camp (E) and the camp physician should choose, after the arrival of the transport meant for execution, those physically fit Russians able to work in the quarries, a list of the selected Russians must be sent to me in duplicate. The camp doctor must state on this list, that he agrees to the use of these people for work. After receiving the permission of the Chief of the Security Police and SD Service these prisoners may then be sent to the quarries.

Sixteen thousand numbered Soviet prisoners passed through the camp at Auschwitz, out of whom, according to the camp roll of Jan. 17 th 1945 only 96 were left alive. Immediately after their arrival at the camp the Russians were completely stripped and driven into blocks, where in the cold autumn days in 1941 they huddled together for warmth. Afterwards they were clothed in stripped ticking, some in wooden shoes, and so dressed they worked in penal companies, and later on at the construction of the camp at Birkenau.

Amidst constant chicanery, beating and kicking they had to wallow in mud, digging ditches and constructing the roads. Half dressed, hungry and frozen every day weaker and weaker, they were punished for even the shortest pause in their labour by being locked in a shed naked, where frost and exhaustion finished them off. The conditions were no better in the blocks. The naked prisoners were forced to do gymnastics in a hard frost. They washed themselves once in a week under constant beating. In such conditions death reaped a rich harvest. Those that were half dead-after verification by the SS Raportführer Stiwitz with hot iron that they still lived — were killed with sticks.

A list of about a hundred causes of prisoners deaths came to be gradually written down on death certificates and in registers. From the register of deaths preserved until now (Totenbuch), including the period from Sep. 7 th 1941 to Feb. 28 th

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1942, it transpires ,that during this period, i. e. 144 days (on Feb. 23 rd 1942 no deaths were recorded) 8,320 prisoners were murdered. The highest number of 352 dead is noted down under the date Nov. 4 th 1941. This book is closed by a pencilled calculation of a SS clerk, who multiplied the number of the dead written on one page (36) by the number of pages (234) and he divided the figure obtained by the number of days (144), getting in this way the number 58 as an average of the daily deaths. From analysis of the inscriptions in this book, in which the number of the blocks is given in which the prisoner allegedly died, the hour, and the cause of death, the result is, that during 137 days the victims "died" between the hours of 6 and 10 in the morning, and only on three days during night (during 4 days the hours were not inscribed), that during the period between 7—10 a. m. 5,744 prisoners died, and that the majority died not in the hospital, but exclusively in the living quarters. From the column "causes of death" it appears that those who died in the living quarters were sick among other things with peritonitis and pneumonia, during which as a rule walking is impossible. It proves that both the diseases and the causes of death were falsely inscribed.

From the comparison of the causes of death it appears that 653 people died of heart attacks, 989 from deficient circulation of blood, 806 persons from catarrh of the bowels, 484 persons of general exhaustion, 512 of the inflammation of the kidneys, 551 of inflammation of the lungs, 137 of heart failure 1214 of tumours, 317 of heart disease, 806 of bronchitis and the rest of about twenty other diseases. The description of numerous deaths of young militarily fit people as being due to heart failure and deficient circulation of the blood as well as the fact that, for instance, on the 13. I. 1942 9—42 persons died in one block only in the 10 minutes from 8.50 to 9 o'clock proves that the causes of death given are false. In about 20 cases (Nos. 692—711) description of the real reasons of death is given in the appropriate column as "überstellt" without

Fig. 30. Interior of living-hut, type 260/9 (Pferdestallbaracke)

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giving the place to which the prisoner was transferred. According to a uniform account by the prisoners employed in the camp offices, this cryptogram signified that the said prisoner was murdered.

This fact was also noted in the camp register book by the sign SB (Sonderbehandlung), by a cross, or by the word "entlassen".

From the second register preserved containing the numbers 9794—25,5000, it appears that of 15706 prisoners who arrived at Auschwitz Camp in the period from August 7 th 1943 to July 19th 1944, 12341 were certified as released (entlassen) and 766 were marked with a cross. As almost all the ostensibly released were Jews and it is well known that the Jews were never released from the Nazi camps the sign "entlassen" written in this book beside the name of the Jew undoubtedly signifies death.

VII. Punishments

Besides the beating by the SS-men and overseers at the place of work the following punishments were applied to men and women, with the aim of mantaining working discipline among the prisoners: flogging, penal gymnastics (Strafexerzieren), work under supervision on Sundays and holidays, transfer to a penal group, standing, kneeling with hands up, stones holding, and finally incarceration in a dark narrow cell (Stehzelle).

Punishment was based on report by an SS-man, overseer at the place of work or block leader. The punishment was prescribed by the Commandant of the Camp in a written order, by virtue of the disciplinary authority which was given him by the regulations for concentration camps. In the printed form of this regulation the following penalties are laid down: Threat of punishment, work under the supervision of an SS-man during normally free time, a ban on writing or

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receiving letters, deprivation of dinner with work as usual, transfer to a penal company, and a hard bed in a cell after his daily work.

Deprivation of freedom was marked by three grades of arrest. During arrest the prisoner received daily only bread and water, and full diet every fourth day. Third grade had to be endured by the prisoner in a dark cell, so arranged that he could neither lie nor sit. Third grade was known in the language of the camp as "Bunker". It was endured in small dark cement cells, in which the prisoners were so squeezed that they could not move and were obliged to stand the whole time. At Birkenau these cells were entered by a small opening like a dog kennel. This punishment was administered practically in all cases where "hard bed" was ordered. Officially it was called "Stehzelle", and in practice was enhanced by ingenious tortures, such as pouring of water into the ears, beating the heels, pulling out finger nails, or starving for several days after which the prisoner was given vegetable salade specially seasoned with salt for producing a great thirst.

A starvation cell was instituted with special sadism by Lagerführer Fritsch, where prisoners were kept who were caught trying to escape. In this cell there were instances of cannibalism. One of the prisoners who was in this cell told of the following scene: "When the door was opened, a horrible smell of decaying corpses was noticeable. After accustoming myself to the darkness, I noticed in a corner the corpse of a prisoner, with his intestines pulled out, and beside him in a half recumbent position-a second body, also of a prisoner. He was holding in his hand the liver he had taken from the body of his dead companion. Death struck him in the act of devouring this liver".

According to the regulations concerning the administering of punishment by flogging (Körperliche Zuchtigung) the prisoner first had to undergo a medical inspection, and then the punishment was to be applied with a leather whip, with blows

following swiftly upon each other. Beating was allowed only on the buttocks, which had to be clad. Further down on the form there is a printed medical certificate form, to the effect that the prisoner underwent a medical inspection before flogging and that from the medical point of view there were no objections to his receiving such a punishment. Afterwards the confirmation of the extent of the punishment by the Chief of the Official Group D in Berlin, was included, and a protocol that the punishment was administered, with the names of the prisoners who flogged the delinquent, and the signature of four officers of the SS (the Commander and three functionaries). Flogging was administered publicly during the evening roll-call on a specially constructed whipping block which is seen on the photograph below.

Regardless of the above-mentioned regulations the prisoners were beaten on naked buttocks, which as a rule were cut till the blood flowed. Usually this punishment caused tumours on the buttocks sometimes as big as a fist. If the delinquent fainted, he was restored to consciousness and the punishment was continued. The smallest punishment amounted to 10 blows. It was an official punishment. Unofficially the blockleaders flogged the prisoners for the slightest offence usually ordering the prisoners to put their heads into the opening of the stove, and afterwards beating them on the buttocks with a rod.

The standing punishment consisted of standing at attention at the camp office near the exit gate of the camp. This punishment was applied in the women's camp, and lasted from three hours to a whole day, and even several days following each other without a break. During the time it lasted the woman-prisoner did not get anything to eat. If in the punishment of kneeling the woman-delinquent dropped her stone-filled outstretched hands, she was beaten till she lost consciousness. The duration of the punishment by kneelling depended on the whim of the authorities, and lasted from two to several hours.

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The prisoners who formed the penal company always worked in the open air, always on the hardest work, often in water to the waist, and lived in an isolated Block No. XI, at the far end of the camp and in the XI Block of the B II Section in Birkenau.They worked in winter and in summer without socks, in Dutch cloys, clad only in ticking. They received food or not according to the whim of the blockleader. They spent in most cases sleepless nights owing to constant shouting and blows. They were lying without even straw mattresses on the bare floor, and left their rags in prescribed order in the corridor. This Block was not heated. It is obvious that people in such conditions fell ill wholesale. Up to 1943 it was not permissible however to take sick from the penal company into hospital. So the seriously ill, deprived of medical assistance, were doomed in Block XI to death.

The greatest percentage perished, however, at the hands of the blockleader of the XI Block-Krankenmann. He used to line up the prisoners by a wall, struck their jaws with his hand, so that they split, and the other side of the head struck the wall and was smashed.

In winter 1942/43 a Giant-Jew, specially kept for killing people was prowling in XI Block in the penal company. He did no work, was well fed, stood at the place where the prisoners were working leaning against a great thick pole and shouted without ceasing "Bewegung". When he disliked one of the prisoners, he called him up to him and killed him with a blow on the back of his neck. A second method of killing was strangulation. The prisoner was ordered to button and hook his tunic under his neck and then the executioner gripped the collar from behind and pressed the head of the prisoner downwards, so that the collar and the hook pressing against the larynx of the victim caused strangulation. Finally he flung the prisoners on the floor with their faces upwards, put earth or bricks under their necks and then placed his pole across

their throats, standing with his feet on both sides of the pole. He stood thus until his victims died.

Punishments were administered for the slightest offence against the camp regulations, such as not making one's bed properly, for finding potatoes on the prisoner, who wanted to cook when in his Block or at his place of work, for having in one's possession family photographs or letters, and particularly for writing and receiving letters from other prisoners within the camp area.

VIII. Housing conditions

Even if there had been no physical and moral torturing of the prisoners at Oświęcim, even if they had not been tormented and murdered wholesale, still the mere living conditions and lack of hygiene, and the deficient food which they received would have caused a high mortality-rate.

The scheming and exactness both in the construction of the living quarters and the starvation level of rations is striking.

The prisoners lived in huts without windows, used only by the German army as stables for horses, officially called: Pferdestallbaracken Type 260/9 with dimensions of 40.76 × 9.56 × 2.65 metres constructed on posts, with walls made of thin boards, and roofs made of tarred boards through which water was constantly leaking. The only furniture of these huts consisted of 3-storey bunks 1.80 metres in breadth, in which 30 prisoners were cabined on litter, and in most cases on bare boards. There was a primitive stove whose pipes ran through the whole length of the barracks and heated the interior with carbon monoxide. These stoves were called officially "Russenofen".

Such huts were regarded as living accommodation for 300 prisoners. On each litter, consisting of two straw mat-

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tresses slept from 6 to 10 prisoners. From a letter of the manager of the clothing stores one learns however, that in reality, often 1000—1200 prisoners lived in them at once, and after deducting the area of the senior Blockleader's and Capo's rooms and of the food-store, it amounted for one prisoner to an area of about 0.28 m^2 and about 0,75 m^3 of air.

It is characteristic of the camp authorities that they found such huts unsuitable even for keeping the camp cows in, and after the reconstruction of Type 260/9 as a cow-shed, ventilation and a cement floor were added (plan No. 1433 of the 3th VII. 1942). The authorities showed the same care for the health of the animals when constructing dog kennels. By order from Berlin of Oct. 16th 1942. a luxuriously arranged kennel was built at cost of 81.000 RM. at Birkenau calculated to contain 250 police dogs. From the files of this building construction (BW 77) it is seen that when the kennel was being planned a professional camp veterinary surgeon was asked for advice, and everything was done to build it in accordance with modern sanitary requirements. They even thought about an adequate grass plot, a specially arranged dog-hospital, and a kitchen. In connection with a delay in mending the roof of the kennel, the head of the dogs' section threatened to resign, saying that he could not take the responsibility for disease among the dogs caused by leaking roofs. When comparing the sanitary conditions in the prisoners, huts and those in the dog kennels it must be said that the dogs at Auschwitz were a hundred times better off.

All the prisoners' huts were constructed on muddy ground in the swampy Birkenau area with no drainage. During practically the whole of the camp's existence they were deprived of regular water supply, were without drainage, had no ventilation whatsoever, had clay floor, which got very dusty in the dry season, and which in rainy periods, owing to the leaking of the roofs was transformed into one big swamp. It served as an incubator of flies, lice and rats which were

one of the greatest scourges of the prisoners and a hotbed of different epidemic diseases, the principal one being typhoid fever.

Violent epidemics of the worst type of spotted typhus were the scourge of the prisoners, especially in winter, and confirm the inhuman hygienic and sanitary conditions which were found in the camp. It was impossible to wash or to change one's underwear. The huts were overcrowded in an unheard-of manner.

The prisoners who were heard as witnesses stated with one accord, that they did not receive water either to wash in or drink. They washed themselves in the imitation coffee which was supplied to them as nourishment, or in pools of rain, or in ditches which also served their physiological needs. From a letter of the manager of the construction authorities, Bischoff, of Dec. 16th 1942 (Erläuterungen zur Ausführung der Wasserversorgung) it is shown that the camp authorities knew just how bad these sanitary conditions were, and particularly the lack of water as the cause of epidemic diseases which exterminated the prisoners, and notwithstanding this, they did nothing to prevent this calamity.

IX. Food Rations

When considering the problem of food rations, the difference between the official rations foreseen in the bill of fare, in portions distributed in the kitchen store, and those rations which actually reached the prisoners in the hut must be taken into account.

The daily portion of bread amounted to 350 gr. but in reality the prisoner got as a rule at best only 300 gr. as the block leaders, when cutting bread, stole from each loaf[1]) at least

[1]) At Birkenau (camp for men) a loaf of bread (1400 gr) was divided in 6 even in 8 portions! in 1942—1943 during many months.

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50 gr. It must be remembered that bread was distributed in the evening and the famished prisoner ate the whole 300 gr at once, so that he had no more bread for breakfast.

For breakfast he received half-a-litre of coffee or tea made of herbs: 3 kg. of sugar was prescribed for a kettle containing 300 litres, then 5 gr. for a half litre portion, but in practice, the coffee was sweetened but rarely, and in such a way that 5 gr. of sugar was for a portion used only exceptionally.

For dinner two kinds of soup were given: meat soup four times a week, and vegetable soup three times a week.

A portion of soup with meat ought to contain: 150 gr. of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, greens and beetroots 150 gr., 20 gr. of flour or Avo, 5 gr. of salt and 20 gr. of meat with bones.

In reality such a portion shrank in the kitchen store to the following dimensions. There were only 50 gr. of potatoes and turnips for a portion owing to the necessity of throwing away large quantity of rotten vegetables, and as meat with bones was systematically taken from the store for the SS-men's kitchen, instead of 20 gr. there remained for a prisoner's portion only 10 gr. (with bones).

A portion of the second type soups should have contained: 500 gr. of potatoes or turnips 500 gr., or 250 gr each of potatoes, turnips, porridge, groats, (pearl barley, rye, millet, macaroni) 40—50 gr. of flour or Avo, 5 gr. of salt, 20—40 gr. of margarine (40 gr. only twice a week as extra for heavy work).

In actual fact this soup was already in the kitchen-store invariably deprived of many essential ingredients. Instead of 500 gr. of potatoes or beets per portion there was only 100—150 gr. (there were always so many rotten potatoes and beets) and half the margarine disappeared in the same way as meat in the kitchen for the use of the SS-men. The result was that instead of 20—40 gr. per portion of soup the prisoner actually got only 10—20 gr. of margarine.

Twice a week a huge five-ton lorry carried from the prisoners' food store sacks of sugar, groats, sausage, flour etc., products destined for the kitchen of the SS-men. Hauptscharführer Werner Hendler supervised this activity (Annie Franz in the women's kitchen), and in the kitchen of the SS-men these products were received by Unterscharführer Paschke.

The prisoners should have received a litre of soup, but the portion of soup in reality amounted as a rule to 3/4 litre. In the kitchen a 300 litre cauldron was not filled up to the brim (owing to the technical difficulties of adequately mixing it) It contained usually only 260—270 litres of liquid. Afterwards part of the cooked soup was wasted during its passage from the kitchen to the place of work or to the huts (lack of can lids caused the soup to be spilled). Finally, during the distribution the capo or the block leader distributed the soup unequally, keeping a certain number of portions for the German prisoners and for their assistants from among the prisoners extra.

In this way instead of one litre of soup the prisoner usually got for dinner 3/4 litres at best.

Attention must be drawn to the fact, that in the years 1940, 1941 and up to the middle of 1942, by obvious command of the camp authorities, soup was distributed in the blocks at midday, and poured into the canteens immediately so the prisoners who returned from their work at 6 o'clock in the evening were obliged to drink their soup quite cold. It was a time of serious diseases of the alimentary canal, of diarrhoea, and typhoid, which undoubtedly resulted to a large extent from the eating of cold soup by the prisoner (The prisoner was deprived completely of hot food from morning)!

When speaking of the **supper portions**, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the official bill of fare, the portions distributed to the kitchen-stores, and finally the por-

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tions which the prisoner actually got in the huts. The comparison given below shows the difference between the three stages to the disadvantage of the prisoner.

	according the menu gr		supplied to the kitchen	prisoner received
Sunday	Sausage	40	30	15—20
Monday	Sausage	40	30	15—20
Tuesday	Margarine	40	40	25—30
	Jam	50	50	25—30
Wednesday	Sausage	40	30	15—20
Thursday	Margarine	40	40	25—30
Friday	Margarine	50	50	30—40
	Jam	50	50	30—40
Saturday	Cheese	50	50	30—35

In a similar way out of the quantities of meat and margarine destined for dinner, large amounts constantly found their way to the kitchen of the SS-men, as did portions of sausage and margarine meant for supper, and even in the kitchen-store a part of these products was set aside for the fattening of the SS-men. Each portion of sausage and margarine was cut down by at least 10 gr. even during the distribution of rations in the kitchen store, to the detriment of the prisoner. The final stage of the distribution of portions in the barrack — was invariably connected with a new diminution of the already starvation ration: here the block-leaders for their own benefit reduced the portions of the prisoners, stealing sausage and margarine for themselves and for their closest pals. As a result the prisoners got instead of 40 gr. at most only 15—20 gr. of sausage, and instead of 40 gr. of margarine only 25—30 gr.

It must be emphasized, that with the consent of the camp authorities every attempt at complaint ended in tragedy for

the prisoner to whom injustice had been done; this recurred constantly during the whole existence of the camp.

Such were the supper rations, to which half a litre of black coffee was added[1]).

On Tuesdays and Fridays supplements were allocated for those who worked extremely hard, the so called Schwerarbeiterzulage for prisoners working in the field in the woods in the crematoria. These additional portions should have amounted to 700 gr. of bread and 100 gr. of sausage, but in reality the prisoners got only 70 gr. of sausage and 700 gr. of bread.

On Thursday the prisoners working inside the camp in the clothing stores, in the laundry, in the shoe-makers, tailor-workshops a. s o. should have received in addition 460 gr. of bread and 50 gr. of sausage. They were getting however at least 10 gr. of sausage less.

An accurate evaluation of the nutritional value of the food consumed by the prisoners at Auschwitz, its energy value in calories is difficult owing to the fact that the investigators did not have any specimens of bread, margarine or other products which were given to the prisoners. It is certain however, that according to the evidence of all the witnesses heard, these products were of a much worse quality than the average given in the tables on which the calorific value of the consumed nourishment is based. The data below given concerning calories is based on the calculations made during the Inquiry in accordance with an official German publication "Nährstoff und Nährungswert von Lebensmitteln. Bearbeitet im statistischen Reichsamt in Verbindung mit dem Reichsgesundheitsamt" (Leipzig 1943 J. A. Barth), which took into account the average products eaten by

[1]) Since 1942 the prisoners were to receive twice a week half a litre of Mehlsuppe (20 gr meal or groats, and 5 gr salt — one portion). This supper was distributed in the morning.

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the German population. So if in the calculation of the caloric value of bread, we were obliged here to base it on "Kommisbrot" it must not be forgotten that in the Auschwitz camp bread which was given to the prisoners was of a much worse quality and that its worth in calories was less owing to a serious increase of flour substitutes. If the calorific value of the sausage was according to data concerning the average sausage it must be remembered that at Auschwitz in most cases a sausage specially poor in calorific value was given to the prisoners, such a sausage as is not seen in normal conditions, with very little proteins and fat. The same thing applies to the margarine and marmalade, etc.

In this way the data given below relate to average products, more valuable from the point of view of nutrition than the products which were distributed to the prisoners in the Auschwitz camp. In reality the amount of calories calculated ought to be much less. If we are satisfied with the data obtained by calculations based on official German tables, we do it only because the evaluation must be done on a strictly defined basis.

Using data contained in official German tables, we get the following striking figures:

Constituents	Heavy Ration	workers Actually received	Norm	Moderate Ration	workers[1]) Actually received	Norm
Proteins	54 gr	42 gr	70 gr	44 gr	33 gr	70
Animal proteins	10	6		7	4	
Fats	47	40		32	22	——
Carbo-hydrates	364	292		307	236	
Caloric Value	2150 K.	1744 K.	over 4800 K.	1738 K.	1302 K.	over 3600 K.

[1]) Norms of the Physiologists Committee of the Hygiene Section in the League of Nations.

Whereas according to the standards of the Physiological Commitee of the Section of Hygiene of the League of Nations a hard-working man ought to receive in 24 hours about 4,800 calories and an average working man more than 3,600 calories, the prisoners at Auschwitz were getting at most from 1302 up to 1744 calories for 24 hours! 1744 calories daily represent a little less than the basic conversion of food into energy of a grown man, or in other words a little less than the amount needed by a man resting in a lying position, covered and motionless. A man who works, nourished in such a way is burning up his own tissues in order to cover the amount of energy expended. This inevitably results in the wasting away of his organism in a manner dangerous to life.

The diet of the prisoners working very hard outside the camp possessed such a calorific value. The prisoners who were working in the camp and whose work was also undoubtedly hard were getting at most 1302 calories for 24 hours, which was much below the amount necessary for the preservation of life when lying in bed.

The above given data explains in full why the prisoners of the Auschwitz concentration camp were dying in masses after a short period of time, and only those who had the chance of getting stolen food, or were getting parcels of food from their families at home, could preserve their life. All the other prisoners were doomed to destruction.

When speaking about details, the great deficiency of protein in the food issued to the prisoners must be remembered, especially the lack of grade I, animal protein which

When studying the table it should not be forgotten that in actual fact the great majority of prisoners described as on "moderate work" were doing just as "heavy work" as the others, so described. The actual arrangement was that the Aussenkommando, employed outside the camp precincts, were given extra rations, while those employed within the camp were not.

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caused after a certain time a hunger-swelling. The lack of fresh vegetables in the diet and of milk and its products meant a serious deficiency of the so called protective foods, and especially of vitamins A, B and C. The need for mineral salts, and particularly for calcium, phosphorus and iron was also not satisfied. Pathological effects were the inevitable result of this, such as night-blindness, a lowering of resistance to infection, septicaemia, scurvy and skin diseases, teeth and bone diseases caused through lack of calcium, inflammation of the nerves and so on. So the nourishment of the prisoners was deficient in both quantity and quality to such an extent that, over-worked and over-driven as they were, it led very quickly to starvation, exhaustion and death.

The above calculations explain the attitude of the SS-men, who regarded any prisoner who survived in the camp for several months as a thief who stole food. "A prisoner has the right to live in the camp only three months" — was a typical saying of the representatives of the camp authorities. When the commandant of the camp, Krause, saw prisoners with low numbers he reproached the SS-men for tolerating such as had learned how to "manage" and ordered their liquidation. Krause was convinced that a prisoner should not live in the camp longer than six weeks.

The general conditions of life in the camp, and in particular the scale of food rations, fully justify this belief.

X. The victims of hunger in photographs

After the flight of the Germans a special legal and medical Commission inspected the 2819 sick prisoners from the Auschwitz camp who survived, and stated that among them 2189 i. e. 91 o/o-were suffering from extreme exhaustion and starvation, and 223 had tuberculosis. The autopsies which were

carried out on 536 corpses proved that in 474 cases death was due to starvation.

The photograph No. 31 shown below represents a part of one group of corpses found in one of the Blocks of the Auschwitz camp. The physical condition of the prisoners during the existence of the camp is illustrated in photograph No. 32 taken by the SS doctor Mengele. Photographs Nos 33 and 34 were taken in May 1945, and show the state of the prisoners after they had already received several months of intensive treatment in a Polish Red Cross hospital. Photograph No. 33 represents a woman prisoner Nr. 44884, born in 1914, a Pole who arrived at Auschwitz Camp on May 15 1943. She is a woman of 160 centimeters in height and weighing about 25 klg. Before her arrest she weighed 75 klg.

Photograph Nr. 34 is that of a German woman prisoner of Aryan origin born in 1922 who came to Auschwitz on Feb. 28 1944. She weighed at the time the photograph was taken about 25 klg.

One of the many others unhappy victims, a woman prisoner No. A 27858, a Dutch Jewess, born in 1908, who had been in Auschwitz since the middle of the year 1944, when photographed she weighed 23 klg. and measured 155 cm. in height.

All these women were suffering from the disease Distrophia Alimentaris III gradus.

XI. The camp hospital and "scientific" experiments on the prisoners

The inhuman conditions of life in the camp, hunger and hard work were the cause of an average of 30% of the prisoners being sick and needing medical assistance. This figure was contained in authentic diagrams of a section of prison-labour during the period 1st June 1942 to 1st August 1944. At certain

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periods up to 80% of all the prisoners had diarrhoea (Durchfall), a very dangerous complaint in camp conditions.

Insufficient personal hygiene, and above all lack of water, caused breeding of lice, and that led to epidemics of spotted typhus, which almost all the prisoners caught during the winter periods of 1941—1943. They were also decimated by typhoid fever in all its varieties and finally by malaria, for, although the camp authorities did everything to protect the SS-men from it, they did not do anything to protect the prisoners. The disease „distrophia alimentaris" must also be mentioned, and was caused by starvation. It led in most cases to tuberculosis. Then there were scurvy and other diseases caused by avitaminosis, and finally various skin diseases, scabies in particular, and traumatic diseases caused through ill treatment.

Malnutrition undermined the constitutions of the prisoners who could not fight efficiently against disease, so that the mortality rate among the sick was very high. Typhoid fever and spotted typhus caused an excessively high number of deaths.

Elderly people, and of weak constitution perished in masses in a short period.

During the first period of its existence the camp had no hospital at all. Afterwards it was organized ,but it was designet rather for experiments by the SS doctors and different representatives of German science than for the cure of the sick. The German doctors and "scientists" sought in Auschwitz human rabbits for their experiments. It follows undoubtedly from the testimony of a series of witnesses and from the report of the surgical section of this hospital of Dec. 16 th 1943 that in the camp hospital at Auschwitz experiments were carried out on living people. In the above-mentioned report there are enumerated among other things: 90 castrations (Hodenamputation), 10 operations for removal of the

Fig. 31. Corpses of prisoners who died naturally

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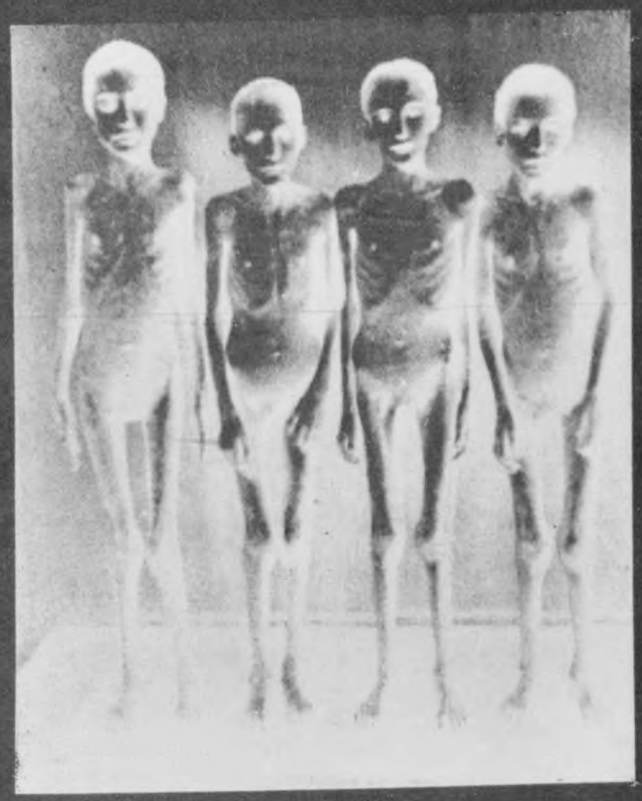
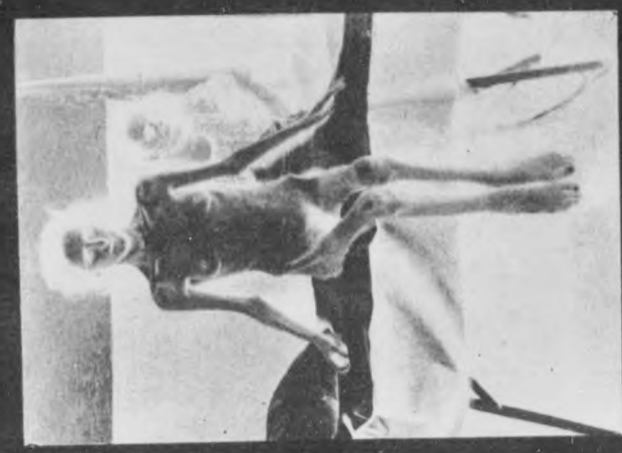


Fig. 32. Children at Oświęcim.



Figs. 33 and 34. State of female prisoners after several months' hospital treatment

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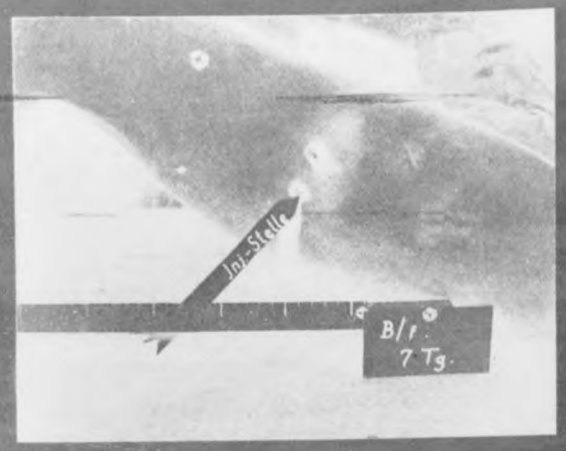
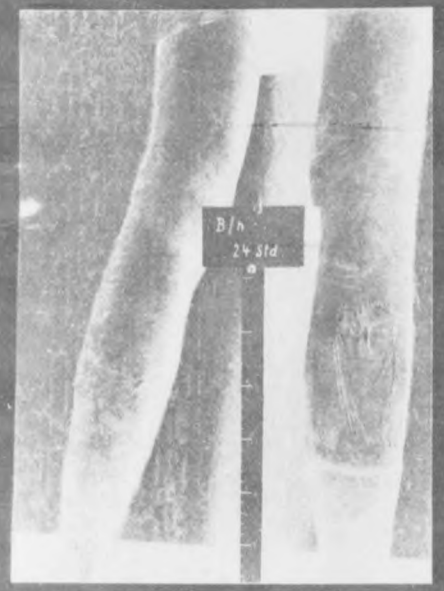


Fot. 35.

Reproduction of photographs found in the Erkennungsdienst research laboratory, showing the results of medical experiments on prisoners

Fig. 35, above, shows the effect of injection B/f after 7 days. (The arrow shows the point of injection)



Fot. 36.

Fig. 36, below, shows changes at the extremity of the lower right leg 24 hours after injection with B/h

ovaries (Eierentfernung) and 10 operation to remove the ovi duct (Entfernung der Eierleiters).

These experiments were carried out on the Xth Block of the base camp. The may be divided into the following groups: experiments having as their aim the investigations of cancer, finding out of a new contrasting mass for X-rays photographs and hematological and serological experiments. Women of Jewish origin were used in most cases for these experiments, which were done several times on many of them. At the order of the Garrison doctor Wirths these experiments and the investigation of cancer were done by a prisoner, Dr. Samuel, a German Jew, who cut out under narcosis a part of the neck of the womb of the women prisoners. The cut-out tissue was frozen, and Dr. Samuel investigated it under the microscope. A big piece of tissue was cut out, and the cut was deep, as the further experiments proved that, owing to a strong scarring of the neck of the womb it became inaccessible to a sounding-rod, so such women were sent to Birkenau to the gas-chambers as not suitable for further experiments. Among others, Herman Mina, born on Dec. 27 th 1902 in Amsterdam fell a victim to such experiments.

Samuel's assistant had constructed a special apparatus for photographing the inside of the vagina. These photographs were very painful, as they lasted an hour and they had to be repeated many times.

The sterilization experiments by means of X-rays were done by an airman of the Wehrmacht, Oberleutnant, Obermedizinalrat Prof. Dr. Schumann from Berlin. Illumination of the ovulas with X-rays directed on them for 5—15 minutes was carried out. The intensity and the tension of the current were regulated by Prof. Schumann himself, (sitting in a leaden cabin) — according to what he wanted to achieve by such an illumination. Many women vomited after this operation. Many of them died after it. After three months of this treatment

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two controlling operations, were carried out on each of such women during which a part of the sexual organs was removed in order to investigate their condition. Probably owing to changes in the hormones resulting from these operations, even young girls grew prematurely old and gave the impression of nearly old women.

In the case of men only one testicle was exposed to the rays. After the operation they were returned normally to their blocks, from whence after one day of rest they were driven to work notwithstanding the state of their health. Many men also died owing to the rays. Those who survived were castrated by Schumann after one month in the hospital. The cut-out testicles were gathered up by Schumann who took them away to Berlin. Only young and healthy people were chosen for such operations, most of them being Greek Jews and Jewesses. During one session Schumann put rays on about 30 women. He organized such sessions 2—3 times in a week.

The principal experimentalist on living people in the camp was the German gynaecologist, prof. Glauberg who, with his colleague from Berlin, carried out experiments in order to find out new contrast substances for the X-rays. Glauberg however was a business man above everything else, as he was working by order of the German Chemical Industry, from whom he was getting a considerable sum for each woman used in his experiments. He bought 150 women from the camp authorities for his experiments. These women were laid on the table which served for the X-rays and with an electric syringe a dense, liquid mass like cement was squeezed into their sexual organs. The insertion of this mass was controlled with the aid of the Röntgen apparatus, and afterwards photographed. Women were writhing in pain, and often had severe haemorrhage. These experiments were carried out on the same women from 3 to 6 times at intervals of 3—4 weeks.

The victims of these experiments suffered from inflamation of the womb ovaries, ovi ducts and peritoneum.

Further experiments were carried out by the SSmen Weber and Münch. Their aim was the indication of the blood group the denoting of the text and the establishment of the group elements text serum in the saliva. Other experiments had as their aim the establishing of the amount of sulfphonamide and salicyl preparations in the blood and the establishment of the reactions on the system of the injections of blood in people suffering from malaria.

Finally other experiments were also performed in Auschwitz, such as the making of plaster casts of the women's genitals, and the investigation of the reaction to different means of irritating the skin, or the relative effects of injections of petroleum and benzine. These last experiments were carried out at the request of the German army in order to obtain a detailed description of diseases ensuing from these operations.

At the beginning of the year 1944, a special Medical Commission arrived at the camp consisting of SSmen from Berlin, who investigated about a hundred sick Jews and the health staff. A special preparation was injected into their muscles and the reaction from this injection was examined very carefully. After 15 minutes the victims were led into the courtyard where they had a special kind of gymnastics, for half an hour. Then individual members of the Commission asked the prisoners, among other things, if they wanted to live or to die, if they felt fear, and they were particularly asked several times who was their personal enemy. This last question proves that the gestapo were working to find out such means as would produce in the victim a special psychological condition facilitating extortion of evidence. It seems that the prisoners who underwent this experiment felt symptoms of a slight dimness, drowsiness and an inability to concentrate.

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So the hospitals at Auschwitz served in the first place for experiments. The sick were taken there-according to the statement of a certain SSman-five minutes before their death. They were supplied with almost no medicaments whatsoever, there was no proper diet, the sick were fed almost in the same way as the prisoners, the housing conditions in the hospital were even worse than in the living quarters. There was one period of time when the only medicine which was in the hospital was aspirin and other analgesic tablets. The sick were given one spoonful of medicine only to create the illusion in them that they were being cured. The medicine which was in the hospital at the moment was given to all, in most cases analgesic tablets (Schmerztabletten) which included treatment for headaches, pleurisy, ischias, rheumatism, inflammation of the bladder, stomach aches and all other diseases. In the hospital drug store paper bandages and lignine were given out, which however were always in short supply. In the surgical section, contained in a small surgery, everything was done without, local or general anaesthesia. Often 8—10 cuts were made on one limb. Very often the operation of the squeezing out of tumours was performed These were in most cases on the buttocks, resulting from suppuration of wounds, the result of beating with a rod.

In the hospital the meticulous recording of the case history of the diseases was observed very strictly and would have done credit to the best clinics. In some of the hospital blocks the curves of temperature and analysis were so carefully done that they might serve as an example even to the best hospitals. The German doctors however did not cure the prisoners.

XII. The selections

As in the camp only those who worked had the right to live, therefore the sick were taken regularly from the hospital at

intervals of time, and murdered. Such activities were called selections. This nightmare weighed heavily upon the hospital huts. It obviously deterred the sick people, so that for a long period of time the hospitals of Auschwitz were a refuge only for would-be-suicides, tired of life and the torments of camp existence. Such selections were also carried on in the housing blocks of all sections and branches of the camp, in order to clear out prisoners from them unfit for further work. In most cases the SSdoctors Helmersohn, Thilo, König, Mengele and Kitt, whith the manager of the Prisoners' Employment department reviewed the sick and the prisoners in the blocks and without any medical inspection they decided merely from the appearance of the prisoner whether he should live or die. The prisoner, who at the first glance gave the impression of being exhausted, sick, unable to work, was regarded by the doctor as qualified for destruction. The sick knew that they were approaching in turn these masters of their life and death and tried to give the impression of being healthy. They straightened themselves, lifted their heads, pushed out their lean chests, trying in this way to weight the scales in favour of life. It did not help much, it was sometimes enough that someone had an abcess, or wore a bandage, and so fell victim to selection. The Viennese Paul Krüger, was selected only because as he had an old appendicitis scar. The methods of selection are proved by the fact that in about 20 minutes the doctor "inspected" in this way often about 500 persons. During a certain selection carried out by Helmersohn, the physically weak prisoners tried to conceal themselves under the plank beds. They were seen and the SS-men fired blindly at the hidden men, wounding and killing many of them. The extent of destruction by such a selection is proved by the fact based on statistical data, that 7,616 people were selected only from the camp of the quarantine in Birkenau during the period from August 29 th 1943 up to Oct. 29 th 1944.

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The chosen were put into separate blocks called by the prisoners „blocks of death".

In the women's camp the XXVth Block was described by witness Mrs. Rachwal as follows: It was a stone block with grated windows whose courtyard was fenced with a high wire. In this block up to 2000 persons were often staying who sometimes did not get anything to eat for days. There was a dreadfull stuffiness and stench as it was filled with dead and dying prisoners, among which crept sick persons, swollen bleeding human skeletons, moaning and begging for a drop of water. Isolated in such blocks the selected prisoners perished either from hunger or from an injection of phenol or were suffocated by gas. The gaps thus made in the ranks of the labour groups were filled by the prisoners who arrived in the fresh transports.

In the carefully thought-out mills of death at Auschwitz the selections served as a means of keeping the prisoners at the highest level of working efficiency, killing by hard labour, hunger and disease some, who were destined to be replaced by others. In this criminal way the turnover of human material at Auschwitz was controlled.

The inventor of the method of ridding the camp of prisoners unable to work by injections of phenol was one of the camp doctors SS-Obersturmführer Dr Endress. Injections of 10—12 cm. of a 30% phenol were made, first in the veins and then in the heart. The number of prisoners selected by him for injection of phenol was on some days as large as 300. These injections were made in most cases by both of the medical assistants, SS-Oberscharführer Josef Klehr and Herbert Scherpe, assisted first by Stessel and then by Panszczyk. Stessel boasted before the prisoners that he had murdered over 10,000 patients by phenol-injections, and Panszczyk similarly treated more than 12,000. These operations were carried out in the surgery of the XXth Block or in the XXVIIIth Block of the base camp. The condemned man was seated in a chair,

similar to a dentist's, and two prisoners seized his hands and a third blindfolded him with a towel and held his head. Then Klehr approached his victim and drove a long needle into his chest directly into the heart. The prisoner did not die immediately, but everything turned dark before his eyes; then the prisoners who had assisted at the injection led him into an adjoining room and threw him on the floor, where he expired after about 20 seconds. The room in which these operations were carried out was close to the entrance to the XXth block on the left. The corpses were laid on the opposite side of the corridor in the lavatory. Klehr, who took keen pleasure in making these deadly injections, did not confine himself to the patients selected by the doctor, but if he had no officially selected material, went himself and looked for it. He used to go to the XXVIIIth Block, enter the room where the sick were waiting to go into the hospital, selected ten or a dozen, and killed them by injections. It is not strange therefore, that in these conditions the prisoners were afraid of the hospital and avoided it particularly as even a high temperature shown on the case chart was enough to bring one to his doom.

XIII. The shootings.

A second method of mass murder of prisoners was shooting, practised principally by the "political department" at Auschwitz, which was organised and directed from June 18, 1940, to Nov. 1, 1943, by the chief executioner, SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Grabner.

He was chosing a group of suitable assistants strictly collaborating with the camp Command, he secured for the political department unlimited power over the life of the prisoner. He was the initiator and executant of daily mass shootings. It was he who in 1941 introduced the practise of shooting victims through the back of the head *(Genickschuss)*. The following shot prisoners in this way: first reporter of the camp SS-Hauptsturmführer Palitsch, the ex-reporter, SS-Unterschar-

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führer Friedrich Stiwitz, son of a German pastor; Blockführer Bruno Schlage, SS-Unterscharführer Lachmann, SS-Unterscharführer Quackernack Walter, SS-Unterscharführer Kirschner Herbert, SS-Unterscharführer Boger Wilhelm, Kaduk Oswald, Nebest Wilhelm, Schultz Erich, Burek Wasil, Löwenday Friedrich, and other SS-men from the political department. Grabner's principal assistants were SS-Hauptsturmführer Aumeier, Lagerführer of the base camp and afterwards the commandant of the concentration camp at Riga, and Hauptsturmführer Fritsch, afterwards commandant at Flossenburg. Aumeier pronounced the sentences and was present, along with Grabner, at the almost daily executions.

His mentality is illustrated by the following incident: on Saturday Jan. 23, 1943, a Polish colonel, Jan Karcz, who had been half a year in a penal company, came to Aumeier and asked for release from this company, as his time was up. Aumeier answered mockingly that he would be informed of his decision. On Monday, Jan. 25, Karcz was summoned to the XIth Block and shot.

Fritsch greeted the prisoners who arrived in the camp with the following speech: I warn you that you have come not to a sanatorium but to a German concentration camp from which there is no way out, save only by the chimney (i. e. the crematorium). If any one disliked it he may go at once on to the (high-tension) wires. If there are Jews in the transport, they have no right to live more than a fortnight; if there are any priests, they may live for a month; the rest may live three months.

He was the organiser of the penal company, to which were sent mainly persons of education and army officers. Grabner's right-hand man was Boger, who organised a network of spies in the camp and invented the most refined methods of torture for use when prisoners were questioned. He used to torture prisoners himself, and particularly persecuted pregnant women, whom he kicked in the stomach and so killed. Quackernack at these examinations used to crucify his victims, prick their testicles with steel needles, or introduce burning suppositories into their vaginas.

Palitsch, the principal executioner and first executant of Grabner's sentences by shooting, was the terror of all the prisoners. He always carried a tommy-gun before shooting them used to criminally assault his victims. He ordered some Polish officers who were brought to the camp on Aug. 15, 1940, to kiss his boots in the presence of other SS-men and when they refused he shot them.

The first shootings were done at the posts outside the camp fence. The prisoners were bound to these posts by their arms, which were twisted behind them. The shooting was performed by a firing squad, commanded by an officer of the SS. Afterwards deep holes dug outside the fence were chosen as the place of execution, near the camp gate, and afterwards a square near the branch railway line. In July, 1942, 82 Poles from Cracow were shot there in batches of ten. All of them had their hands bound behind with wire. Those who were in the last ten had been obliged to look on at the death of their 70 companions.

Afterwards the yard of the XIth Block was chosen as the scene of the shootings, and particularly a wall connecting the Xth Block with the XIth. Before it a high platform was constructed of boards, the sides being covered with cork and painted black. The condemned men were assembled in the lavatory of the XIth Block, where other prisoners covered by rifles bound their hands with barbed wire, the SS-men watching to make sure that the wire should be drawn tight with pincers so that its barbs should enter deeply into the flesh. Then they were taken to the black wall, placed with their faces to it, and shot through the back of the head from a distance of 1 metre. When smaller groups were shot their hands were not bound.

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The unfettered prisoners made the sign of the cross. Palitsch ordered them to do it again, and when the prisoner lifted his hand to his forehead Palitsch fired. The firing-squad used guns with silencers. Special automatic guns, such as are used in slaughter-houses for killing or stunning cattle, were also employed.

In 1943 Palitsch fell in love with a Jewess who was a prisoner and for having relations with her was lodged in the coal-hole of the XIth Block. He then told prisoners confined together with him that he had shot 25,000 prisoners at Auschwitz with his own hand.

XIV. Hanging

Another method of carrying out the death-sentences of the political department was by hanging. This was principally in order to deter the prisoners from attempting escape. At first the executions were carried out in the camp yard in the presence of all the prisoners, lined up for roll-call. Before being hanged the condemned were flogged. Afterwards the gallows was moved to the yard of Block XI. The bodies were left hanging all night. The corpses of prisoners shot while attempting to escape were also exposed to public view in order to deter the rest. They were laid on a table in front of the guard-house at the camp gate, and next morning all the working-parties going out to their daily labour were made to file past the dead, turning their heads towards them. These corpses were usually injured in the most horrible way so that their intestines protruded. Men were also hanged for other offences. On Sep. 15, 1944, Jozef Jasinski, a 27-year-old prisoner, was hanged at Brzezinka (Birkenau) ostensibly for having sent out a letter in which he described the conditions in camp, and so, as it might happen to fall into the hands of the enemy intelligence, endangered the good fame of the German government.

XV. Gas-chambers

All these murder-methods, however, were not enough to absorb all the superfluous prisoners, and above all could not solve the problem of getting rid of hundreds of thousands of Jews. So the German arranged for them to be gassed wholesale.

This method was tried out in the summer of 1941 in the coal-cellars of Block XI on about 250 patients from the hospital blocks and about 600 prisoners-of-war. After the victims had been put there, the windows of the cellars were covered with earth, and afterwards an SS-man in a gas-mask poured the contents of a can of cyclon on the floor and locked the door. Next afternoon Palitsch, wearing a gas-mask, opened the door and found that some of the prisoners were still alive. More cyclon was accordingly poured out, and the doors locked again, to be reopened next evening, when all the prisoners were dead.

Afterwards the gassing was carried out in the gas- chamber near the first crematorium. This chamber with a floor area of 65 sq. metres (78 sq. yds.) had gas-tight doors, and the gassing was done by pouring the contents of cans exhaling poisonous gas through an opening in the ceiling. After that the gassing operations were systematically extended. In the autumn of 1941 on a clearing in the wood of Birkenau, in a small, cottage which had belonged to a deported peasant, a primitive gas-chamber was organised, called Cellar 2, and two kilometres (1¼ miles) away, likewise in a deported peasant's cottage, a further chamber, called Cellar 1.

In the summer of 1942 it was decided to extend enormously gassing operations and to improve them technically, entrusting the construction of huge crematoria to the firm of J. A. Topf and Sons at Erfurt (ms. of Aug. 3, 1942, No. 11450/42/Bi/H). This was done just after SS. Reichsführer Himmler's visit of inspection. The construction began immediately, and in the early months of 1943 four huge modern

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crematoria were ready for the use of the camp authorities; their fundamental and essential part consisted of a set of gas-chambers of a type unknown before. These crematoria were distinguished by the numbers II, III, IV and V. Crematoria II and III had underground areas, called on the construction drawings Nos. 932 and 933 of Jan. 28, 1942, *Leichenkeller* 1, and 2, both of which were intended for the gassing of human beings. Cellar 2 had an area of 400 sq. metres (480 sq. yds.) and was 2,3 metres high. Cellar 1 had an area of 210 sq metres and was 2·4 metres (7 ft. 9 in.) high. In crematoria IV and V chambers were built on the surface, each having an extent of 580 sq. metres (694 s q. yds.), which were officially called Badeanstalt für Sonderaktion ("Baths for Special Action") (*Aktenvermerk* of Aug. 21, 1942, No. 12115/42). From the specifications of the central building board of Feb. 19, May. 6, 1943, and Apr. 6, 1943 it appears that both cellar No. 1 in crematoria II and III and the *Badenanstalten* in crematoria IV and V had gas-tight doors with grated observation windows of unbreakable 8 mm glass. The true purpose of all these rooms variously described is revealed by Bischoff's letter of Jan. 29, 1943, to the Chief of the Official group C. Kammler, 22250/43, in which he called them gas-chambers *(Vergasungskeller).*

From the evidence of witnesses who as prisoners were employed at the gas-chambers and crematoria and from written reports by prisoners which have been preserved the operations seem to have been carried out as follows: Prisoners, selected for gassing straight from the trains on the railway line, and others selected in the camp were driven to the crematoria on foot, those who were unable to walk were taken in motor trucks. Between the railway platform and the gas chambers there was an uninterrupted procession of people towards the chambers as they were steadily cleared of corpses. In the middle of the road lorries were continually fetching the

weak, old, sick, and children, from the railway. In the ditches at the road-sides lay SS-me with machine guns ready to fire. An SS-men adressed the crowd huddled in the yard telling them that they were going to the baths for disinfection as they were dirty and lousy, and in such a state they could not be admitted into the camp. The gassing was carried on under the personal supervision of the doctor SS-Hauptsturmführer Mengele. The prisoners who arrived in the yard of the crematorium were driven to the dressing-room over the door of which was the inscription *„Wasch und Desinfektionsraum"* and the same inscription in the language of the victims destined for gassing. From plans and remains which have been found, and from the evidence of witnesses it appears that in the dressing-room (*Leichenkeller* 2) there were clothing pegs with numbers. The SS-men advised the victims huddled in the cloak-room each of them to remember the number of the peg on which he had hung his clothes so that he might find them again easily afterwards. After undressing they were driven through a corridor to the actual gas chamber (*Leichenkeller.* 1), which had previously been heated with the aid of portable coke braziers. This heating was necessary for the better evaporation of the hydrogen cyanide. By beating them with rods and setting dogs on them about 2000 victims were packed into a space of 210 sq. metres (250 sq. yds).

From the ceiling of this chamber, the better to deceive the victims, hung imitation shower-baths, from which water never poured. After the gas-tight doors had been losed the air was pumped out and through four special openings in the ceiling the contents of cans of cyclon, producing - cyanide hydrogen[1]) gas, were poured in.

[1]) The Cyclon needed for the killing of the victims locked in the chamber was brought by an SS doctor in a car with the Red Cross on it. The opening of the cans with a special key, the pouring of their contents and afterwards the closing of the opening with lids with tight-fitting felt covers was done by a Gestapo-man in a gas mask.

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The contents of the cans fell down a cylindrical shaft constructed of four corner pieces covered with wire mesh-work of varying density. In the case of the surface gas-chambers in crematoria IV and V, the contents of the cans of cyclon were poured in through openings in the side-walls.

Hydrogen cyanide (HCN or HCy) is extremely poisonous. A man is poisoned by inhaling air containing no more than 0.12 mg. of it per litre (i. e. · 0012 per cent) It stops the action of the ferments, which render possible the giving of oxygen to the tissues by the red blood corpuscles, and thus causes death by internal suffocation with the symptoms of irritation of the respiration centre, accompanied by feelings of fear, dizziness and vomiting.

With sufficient concentration of hydrogen cyanide in the air, death comes almost immediately. The SS-men employed at the crematoria at Auschwitz did not give themselves the trouble to calculate the proper quantity for each gas-chamber, which by a quick death would save the victims from agony. They poured into the chambers the contents of the cans of cyclon and to make sure kept their victims under the gas for about 25 minutes. During period of greatest gassing activity in the summer of 1944 they shortened this period to 10 minutes, at the same time for reasons of economy reducing the amount of cyclon from 12 to 6 cans. According to the evidence of the stokers it appears that after the doors of the gas chamber, in which there was an observation window, had been closed the gassed victims ran towards the door, broke the observation pane, and damaged the electric installations and the air-exhaustion pumps.

When the doors of the gas chamber were opened the gassed were found in a half-sitting position. The corpses were pink; in some spots more pink, in others covered with green spots. Some had foam on their lips, others were bleeding at the nose. Many corpses had open eyes, many were locked together. The

majority were packed near the doors; fewer were under the gas inlets. From their position it could be seen that the victims had tried to get away from the openings and get to the door.

The statements of the witnesses that in the Auschwitz chambers people were poisoned by cyclon are confirmed by the following facts: The "Azot" chemical factory at Jaworzno delivered to the camp authorities between Aug. 3, 1943, and Apr. 29, 1944, a total of 1,155 kg. (253 gallons) of this powerful poison (letter of May 11, 1945). During the investigation several cases of cyclon were found intact in a store-room specially this purpose storeroom in the base camp, and in the bathroom of the women's camp at Birkenau. In the women's hair which was cut after they had been gassed, and in the zinc lids of the air-exhaustion openings of the gas-chamber *(Leichenkeller 1)* of Crematorium II, and finally in the metallic objects hairpins and clasps, an the metal spectacle-frames, found in the bag of hair, an expert chemical investigation carried out by the Legal Expert Inquiry Institute at Cracow found traces of hydrogen cyanide and a relatively large quantity of its compounds (report of Dec. 15,1945).

XVI. The burning of corpses. Crematoria.

All the methods of individual and mass murder here described produced an enormous number of corpses, which had to be disposed of. At first they were buried in mass graves in the wood adjoining Birkenau. In the spring of 1942 their decomposition began to poison the air with its exhalations, so the mass graves were dug up and part of the corpses were burnt in the crematorium, and the rest in pits, and the rotten mess was burnt with flame-throwers. The mass-murders forced the camp authorities to seek a radical and wholesale method of disposing of the bodies. Already in 1940 a small crematorium was installed at Auschwitz (No. 1) in an old Austrian munition magazine. It had at first two and afterwards three two-

retort furnaces. 3—5 corpses were put at one time into each retort. As the burning of such a load lasted about an hour and a half, and the furnaces were active about 14 hours a day, or even longer, the number of bodies burnt in a day must have been about 300.

After gassing had begun in 1941, the small crematorium could not hold all the corpses of the victims, so they were burnt in 8 open pits, dug for the purpose near the gas chambers and called „bunkers" 1 and 2. After the extension of the camp to cover the whole Birkenau area, in the spring of 1943 four more crematoria were constructed in pairs according to the plans, and symmetrically located. The first pair (II and III) had 5 furnaces of three retorts each, heated by two half-generator fires. Crematoria IV and V were constructed at a distance of about 750 metres (820 yards) from the two previously mentioned, and had twin furnaces of 8 retorts each, heated by two fires on either side. Together, therefore, these four new crematoria had 46 retorts, each with a capacity of 3—5 corpses. The burning of one retort load lasted about half an hour, and as the cleaning of the fireplaces took about an hour per day, so all the four crematoria could burn about 12,000 corpses in 24 hours, which would give 4,380,000 a year. But even such efficiency in the crematoria and their intensive exploitation, as a result of which one of the flues cracked II (*Aktenvermerk* No. 36132/43 of Sep. 13,1943), did not suffice to burn the numbers of bodies supplied at certain periods by the camp authorities. Between May and August, 1944, during the mass transports of Hungarian Jews and French Insurgents in the haste caused by the development of the situation on the war fronts, Hungarians and French were gassed in such numbers that the crematoria could not burn all the corpses. So six huge pits were dug beside crematoria V, and old pits were opened near the gas plant in the wood, and corpses burnt in them continuously. When operations were in full swing in

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Fig. 37. Yard in Block 11 with gibbet and death-wall (without its cork facing, destroyed by the Germans before their retreat).

Fig. 38. Whipping-block

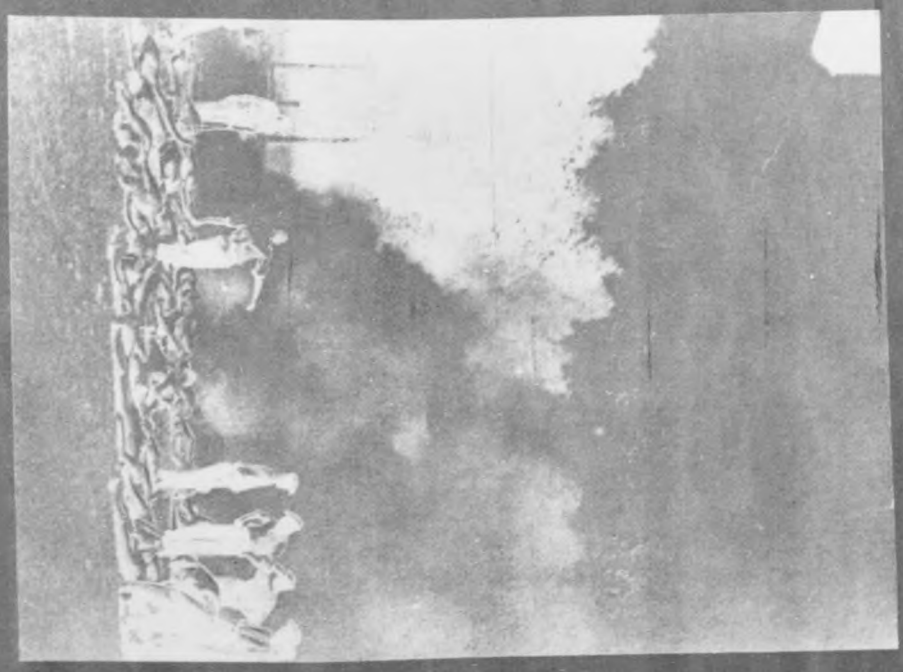

Fig. 39. Burning the bodies of gassed victims in pits. Photograph taken secretly by SonderKommando prisoner David Grek in August 1944

Häftlingszahnstation
des K. L. Auschwitz

Auschwitz, am 8. F 194.

An die
Politische Abteilung des K. L.
Auschwitz

Bei der zur Einäscherung freigegebenen Leiche des
Dąbrowski Johann Häftl. Nr. 18306
wurde folgender Zahnersatz entfernt:

1.) Edellegierung R / L; 2.) Gold R 6566211 L

Gliederzahl: Gliederzahl: 6

Gesamtgliederzahl 6

Der Leiter der Häftl. Zahnstation
des K. L. Auschwitz.

Fig. 40. "Dental" report from the crematorium to the Chief of the Political Department on the extraction of 6 gold teeth from the mouth of the deceased prisoner J. Dąbrowski

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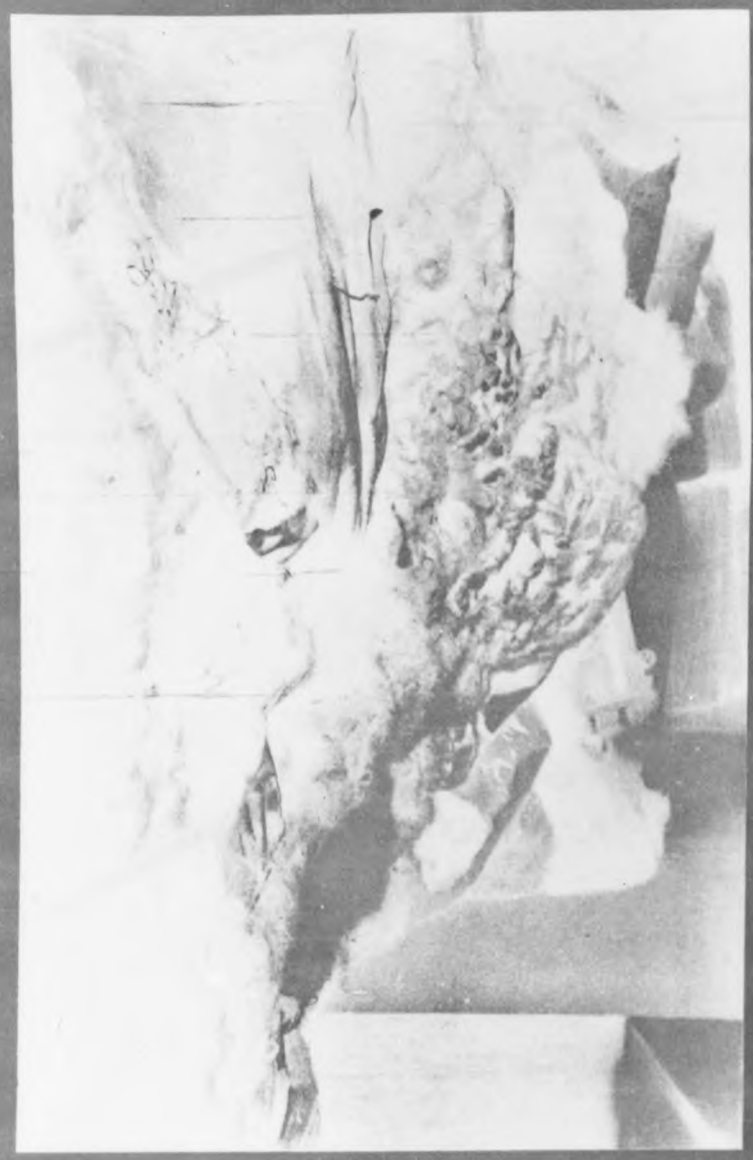

Fig. 41. Murdered women's hair. 7000 kg. (7 tons) were found in store

August, 1944, the number of corpses burnt daily rose to 24,000 For this work the prisoners employed at the crematoria numbering at first 100, but later over 1000, received a special bonus of whisky.

The records of the camp construction department abound in calculations and comparisons of the use of coke, current and other materials necessary for crematoria. It is evident, therefore, that the camp authorities sought an economic method of corpse-disposal.

The experience of August, 1944, showed that the cheapest way was burning in open pits. So the crematoria were closed, and thenceforward the corpses were burnt only in pits, and the plans for a sixth crematorium were based on this principle.

In Crematorium I the corpses were loaded into the retorts with the help of a specially constructed truck. In Crematoria II and III the corpses were raised to the level of the furnaces by electric lifts on specially constructed platforms. In crematoria IV and V they were dragged up to the furnaces with hooks.

Before the loading of the corpses into the furnaces gold teeth were pulled out, earrings and rings were taken away, and the women's hair was cut off. After the flight of the Germans 7,000 kg. (7 tons) of women's hair were found in the stores at Auschwitz; what was left of the hair of hundreds of thousands of victims, which the Germans had not succeeded in carrying away to the Reich. There were also found 2,904 reports by the manager of the crematorium, stating that from 2904 corpses altogether 16,325 gold and platinum teeth had been extracted. 40 prisoners were employed daily on this "dental" work, and at certain times as much as 12 kg. (26 lbs. 8 oz.) of gold teeth were melted down. The ashes of the corpses were at first buried in pits, and the marshes near the village of Harmenze were covered with them, and it was only afterwards, when the German army was in retreat, that

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they were thrown into the rivers Vistula and Sola, as were those also from the pits.

A small quantity of carefully sifted ash was kept in a shed, for enclosures in urns and dispatched on demand, to the families of murdered prisoners, who had been informed of their deaths. The notice sent to the family stated that the corpse of the prisoner had been burnt at the cost of the State, and that the funeral urn was kept in an *Urnenheim* adjoining the crematorium at Auschwitz. At the family's request the urn was sent on payment of the required sum. It was an obvious swindle, as the ashes of the burnt corpses were not preserved individually, and owing to the simultaneous burning of several corpses in the same retort it was quite impossible so to preserve them. Besides, there was no urn burial place whatever at Oswięcim.

On the basis of calculations made by experts of the Investigation Technical Commision under the guidance of Prof. Dawidowski it was stated during the inquiry that the installations for disposing of corpses in pits and crematoria could have burnt more than 5 millions bodies during the period in which they were active.

As is well known, the Soviet Legal and Medicinal Commission, which arrived at Auschwitz immediately after the flight of the Germans, has stated that the number of prisoners murdered exceeded 4,000,000.

These calculations are in conformity with the data obtained during the inquiry from a competent witness, a railway employee from Oswięcim station. This man, Fr. Stanek, stated that in the three years 1942-1944, 3,850,000 prisoners were brought to Oswiecim by rail. Five millions would be nearer the mark counting those brought by car.

XVII. The wiping out of all vestiges of the crime

The Germans tried of course to destroy if possible all proof of the crimes they had committed. They tried therefore to

wipe out carefully all traces which might betray them in future. The crematoria were the best means for doing this. The scattering of the ashes on the rivers and afterwards the destruction of the crematoria tended to the same purpose, as did the murder of the prisoners from the *Sonderkommando*, the killing of persons on whom experiments had been made, and the destruction of their remains, the killing of the prisoners who had collaborated with the Germans in carrying out the experiments, the writing of false case histories relating to murdered prisoners, and destruction of the records of the camp.

As early as May, 1944, the old crematorium at Auschwitz was transformed into an air-raid shelter. Crematorium IV was burnt on Oct. 7, 1944, during a fire which broke out when the members of the *Sonderkommando* tried to avoid being gassed. The technical installations at crematoria II and III were dismantled in November, 1944, and part of them sent to the camp at Gross Rosen, and the buildings were blown up. Crematorium V was burnt and its walls blown up in the night of Jan. 20, 1945. Some of the *Sonderkommando* were gassed by Germans in the disinfection hall *(Entwesungskammer)* in the base camp. It was even proposed to take down the wall of death in the yard of the XI Block and to remove the sand under the wall which was soaked with blood. The XXVth Block in the women's camp (the block of death) was transformed into a hospital block, and the numbering was changed, so that it became No. 2a.

At the end of August, 1944, the registration books in which the deaths of prisoners had been registered were destroyed, by special delegates from Berlin who took them all away, loaded them on two cars, and removed them from Auschwitz. The main book containing very many facts about the *Sonderbehandlung (S. B.)* was left to the camp authorities, but it was copied and the mark *S.B.* was replaced by another. Schumann's X-ray apparatus was taken away in December, 1944. The

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prisoner Slezak who worked it and had witnessed many experiments done with it was sent to the concentration camp at Mauthausen, where he was executed.

The same fate befell five prisoners who had been employed on the crematoria.

On January 18, 1945, the camp authorities hastily evacuated about 58,000 prisoners from Auschwitz, leaving 5,000-6,000 who were seriously ill. Many of the 58,000 were shot on the way, as they were unable to walk.

In one of the daughter-camps *(Fürstengrube)* all the sick were burnt in their huts.

On January 22 Auschwitz was occupied by the Red Army.

*

In the light of the investigations which have been made, it may be stated that the Auschwitz camp was not only a concentration camp, but was in the first place an extermination camp, and already at its foundation was designed by the Nazi authorities as a place of execution for millions of people, who, in accordance with Nazi principles, had been deprived of the right to live, as representatives of „inferior races and nationalities", „less valuable" and standing in the way of the expansion of the **Herrenvolk.**

THE TREBLINKA EXTERMINATION CAMP

III.

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The evidence on which this account relies is in the first place the testimony of 13 Jews, former prisoners at Treblinka, who succeeded in escaping during the armed revolt of August 2, 1943. Their names are: Jankiel Wiernik, Henryk Poswolski, Abe Kon, Aron Czechowicz, Oskar Strawczyński, Samuel Reisman, Aleksander Kudlik, Hejnoch Brener, Stanisław Kon, Eugeniusz Turowski, Henryk Reichman, Szyja Warszawski, and Leon Finkelsztejn.

Additional facts concerning particularly the number of railway transports, is to be found in the evidence of 11 Polish railway workers.

The railway records at Treblinka station have also been consulted, as well as documents and coins dug out during the levelling of the surface; and the results of legal and medical inquiries, as well as the sworn evidence of a land surveyor, were used by the prosecutors.

I.

The Extermination Camp at Treblinka in which hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered is situated near the village of Wolka-Okraglik, in the commune of Kosow, district of Sokolow Podlaski, province (voivodship) of Warsaw.

The camp site was placed in a sandy region, overgrown with pines and far from human habitation. The nearest village, the above mentioned Wolka, was 1½ km from the camp boundary. The nearest railway station Treblinka (after which the camp was named) is 4 km. away.

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At a short distance, along the north-western and northern boundaries of the camp, the road from Kosow to Malkinia and the railway from Siedlce to Malkinia run parallel, but owing to the undulating, wooded character of the region, the grounds of the camp are invisible alike from the road and from the railway.

Near the south-western edge of the camp a branch line runs to a gravel pit and was continued to the camp itself. This extension no longer exists; it served to bring the transports of victims. A road also, still in existence, was made from the high road and continued to the camp.

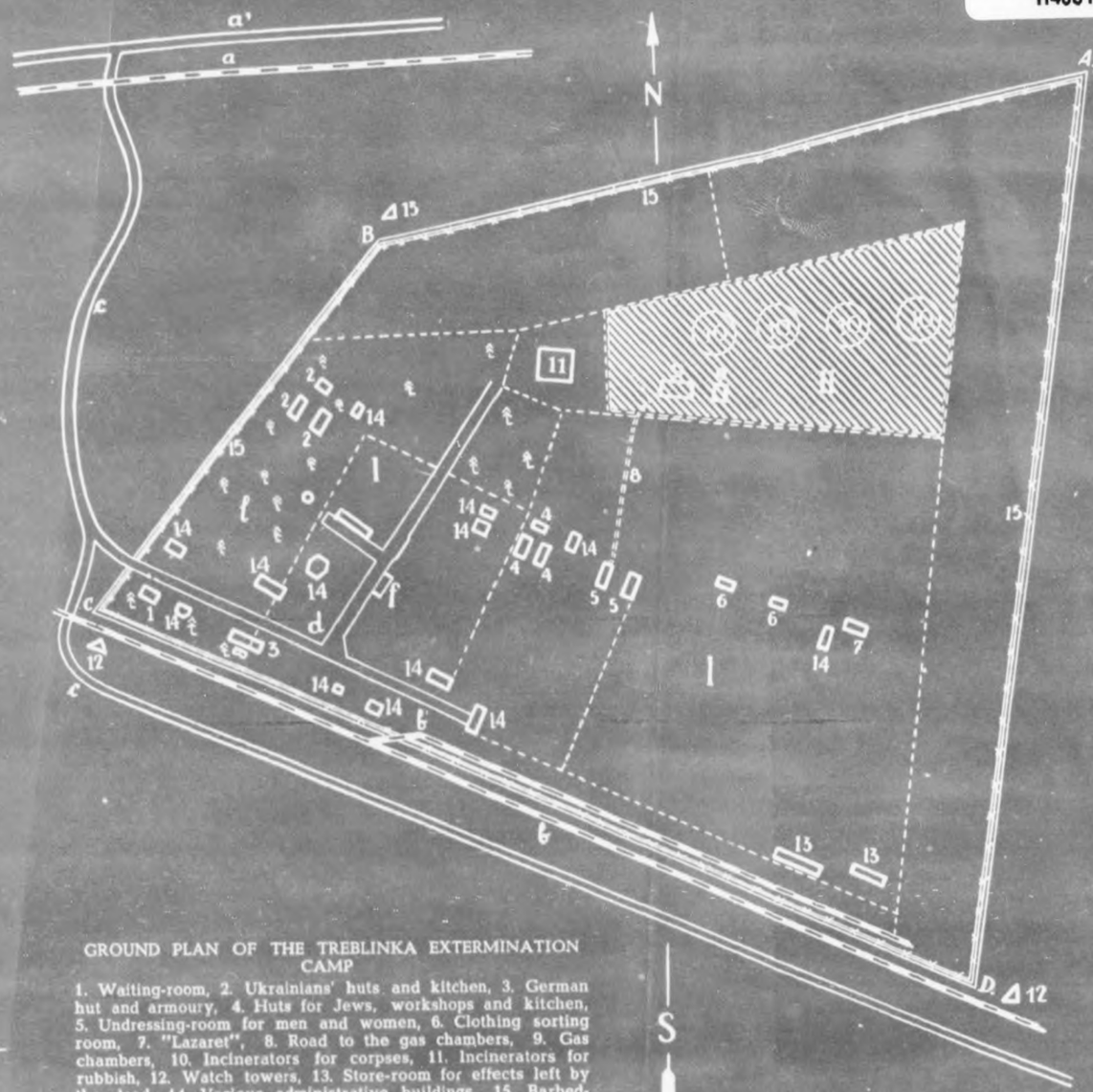
The area of the camp amounted to 13·45ha. (33 acres). The entire camp had the shape of an irregular rectangle.

Construction work was begun on June 1, 1942, and was carried out mostly by Jewish workers brought in cars from the adjoining small towns of Wegrow, and Stoczek Wegrowski, who during their work were killed in masses.

The first railway transports of victims destined for destruction arrived at the camp on July 23, 1942, and from that time until approximately the middle of December, 1942, there was a constant stream of fresh arrivals. After New Year, 1943, the number of transports began to diminish. In February or March, 1943, Himmler visited the camp, and after this a wholesale burning of corpses was undertaken. On August 2 a revolt broke out, during which part of the camp hutments were burnt.

But at the end of the month several more transports arrived The camp was finally „liquidated" in November, 1943.

At the present time no traces of it are left, except for the cellar passage with the protruding remains of burnt posts, the foundations of the administration building, and the old well. Here and there can also be traced the remains of burnt fence posts and pieces of barbed wire, and short sections of paved road. There are also other traces. For exemple, in the north-eastern part, over a surface covering about 2 ha. (5 acres),



GROUND PLAN OF THE TREBLINKA EXTERMINATION CAMP

1. Waiting-room, 2. Ukrainians' huts and kitchen, 3. German hut and armoury, 4. Huts for Jews, workshops and kitchen, 5. Undressing-room for men and women, 6. Clothing sorting room, 7. "Lazaret", 8. Road to the gas chambers, 9. Gas chambers, 10. Incinerators for corpses, 11. Incinerators for rubbish, 12. Watch towers, 13. Store-room for effects left by the dead, 14. Various administrative buildings, 15. Barbed-wire fence and blocks.

I. Administration area. II. Camp area proper.

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there are large quantities of ashes mixed with sand, among which are numerous human bones, often with the remains of decomposing tissues.

As a result of an examination made by an expert it was found that ashes were the remains of burnt human bones. The examination of numerous human skulls found in the camp has shown that they bear no traces of external injuries.

Within a radius of several hundred yards from the camp site an unpleasant smell of burnt ash and decay is noticeable, growing stronger as one approaches.

The south-western part of the camp site is covered with the remains of all kinds of aluminium, enamel, glass and porcelain vessels, kitchen utensils, trunks, rucksacks, and remnants of clothing. Almost the whole camp-site is now covered with pits and holes.

II.

According to the evidence of the Jewish witnesses who had been confined at Treblinka, the general appearance of the camp was as follows while it was functioning:

It was enclosed within a 3—4 m. (10—13 ft.) high barbed-wire fence, densely interwoven with pine branches to make it invisible. Along the enclosure were barricades of barbed wire, and at intervals were watch-towers, where Ukrainian guards armed with machine-guns were stationed.

The interior of the camp was divided into two parts: the first, including about five-sixths of the whole, had a railway siding, stores, warehouses, workshops, offices, living-quarters for the SS men, Ukrainians and Jewish workers; garages and a kitchen-garden. It was the administrative part. The second was the extermination camp proper and contained two buildings with 13 gas- chambers, living-quarters for the Jewish

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workers, and the place where the corpses were buried, and afterwards dug up and burnt.

During the first phase of the camp, from July, 1942, onward 3 gas-chambers were in use. In the early autumn of 1942, however, the construction of a new building, holding 10 chambers, was begun. One of the witnesses brought to Treblinka on October 10, 1942, saw these chambers already functioning.

The aspect of the chambers in which victims were gassed, according to statements by the witnesses Wiernik, Rajchman and Czechowicz, was as follows: Both buildings had many corridors, within the larger building the entrances to the chambers being on both sides of the corridor, but in the smaller one on one side only. The entrances were small and had tightly closing doors. In the outer walls of the chambers were large trap doors which could be raised in order to permit the removal of the corpses. The chambers had tiled floors, sloping towards the outer side. In the ceiling were openings connected by pipes with engines situated in adjoining buildings, which produced the CO gas with which the victims were suffocated.

The witness Wiernik, who worked as a carpenter during the whole time of his stay in the camp, and so had a certain amount of freedom, gives the dimensions of the chambers as being in the smaller building 5×5 metres (15ft. 6 in. square) and 7×7 metres (23 ft. square) in the larger.

The burning of the corpses had begun already at the time of the full functioning of the camp. At Treblinka there were no crematoria with furnaces, but there was a primitive arrangement of grates made from rails placed on supports of reinforced concrete, which could hold 2,500 corpses. Mechanical excavators were used for digging the pits and later for the exhumation of the corpses. In the waybills for the wagons sent from Treblinka at the time of the final "liquidation" of the camp three excavators are mentioned. One of them was

dispatched from Treblinka on June 29, 1943, to the firm of Adam Lamczak, Berlin-Neukölln, Willy Waltherstrasse 30—3 Tr.

In the general lay-out of the camp the so-called *Lazarett* or hospital is interesting. It was situated in the first part of the camp, and was in essence a place enclosed by a high fence and divided inside into two unequal parts. The entrance was through a small hut, on which was a Red Cross flag, whence the way led to a smaller "waiting-room", with plush-covered sofas, whence again the victims were taken to the second part. Here there was a pit, on the edge of which an SS-man or Ukrainian shot the victim through the back of the head with a revolver. The *Lazarett* was designed for the destruction of the sick, invalids, old people, and small children who were too weak to enter the gas-chambers by themselves.

The *Sonderkommando* tried thus to prevent interruption of the normal smooth working of the camp activities.

The fact of the existence in the camp of arrangements whose sole aim was to deceive the victims as to its real purpose is very noteworthy. A sham railway station was built to resemble a real one, with various inscriptions, such as "refreshment room", "waiting room", or "booking office", and signs showing the "passengers" where to get in for Bialystok and elsewhere.

III.

The camp was run by a relatively very small group of SS-men. Witnesses mention the names of the following: Stengel, the camp commandant, from Vienna, Kurt Franz from Thüringen, the vice-commandant Rütner from Leipzig, Franz Miete from Bavaria, Mentz from the vicinity of Bydgoszcz, Paul Bredow from Silesia, Willy Post from Hamburg, Kurt Seidel from Berlin, Müller from Hamburg, Suchomil from the

Sudeten mountains, Schafner, Joseph Herman from Cologne, Schmidt and Minzberger, all of whom worked in the first, administrative, part of the camp. In the second part, where the gas-chambers were, there were, among others, Flops of Munich, a specialist in burning corpses, Emil Ludwik, the manager of this part of the camp, Karl Petzinger of Leipzig, Mathiss, Lefler, of German origin but probably a citizen of the United States, Edwin Gense of Vienna and Otto Horn.

Auxiliary functions were carried out by the Ukrainians, who numbered about 100, but there were also a certain number of Jewish workers, who were frequently killed off and replaced. As stated by the Jewish witnesses, these workers were chosen from particular transports in parties of not less than ten and not more than 100. In the first part of the camp there were about 1000 of them, and in the second from 200 to 500. The workers in the two different parts of the camp could not communicate with each other. At the head of the group was a senior official who wore an arm-band with the inscription: *Aeltester der Juden* (Senior Jew). The group was subdividedas follows:

a) A group with blue arm-bands, who cleaned the wagons after the transports had arrived; b) a group with red arm-bands, who helped to undress the victims; c) the largest group, who sorted the clothing, d) Goldjuden (Gold Jews) who took valuables from the victims, e) a group of workers specially employed in niterweaving the fence with brenches and f) a group of artisans who worked in the workshops. In the second part of the camp Jewish workers were employed in removing corpses from the gas-chambers, burying them and later on in burning the remains.

The railway trains had staffs consisting mainly of Ukrainians and Lithuanians under the command of SS-men, recruited from outside the camp. Two German railway mans, Rodolph Emerich and Willy Elinzman were permanently employed at Treblinka station unloading trains of Jews.

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IV.

The treatment of the victims was as follows: the railway trains arrived at the station at Treblinka. As the branch line could not take more than 20 wagons at once, the trains were divided, each section in turn being drawn by an engine on to the extension line leading to the camp. Here the SS-men and Ukrainians were standing ready with arms and whips, and after opening the wagons they drove the Jews brutally forward. Everything had to be done in the quickest possible time. The unwilling and those who were too slow were shot. At the same time Jewish workers removed corpses and baggage from the wagons and cleaned them out.

We must bear in mind that the victims travelled in locked cars meant for the transport of freight, and especially on bad days, owing to evercrowding (often as many as 200 persons in one car) the weaker ones died before their arrival at the camp.

After leaving the cars the victims were driven along with blows and shouts to the enclosure, where the men were separated from the women and children. Old people, the sick, and abandoned children were directed thence to the lazaret, where they were shot.

A small number of the men were then selected for work in the camp, while others were sent to the adjoining labour camp. After a short time they also died wholesale.

As the SS-man ordered all money and valuables, to be given up, Jewish workers *(Goldjuden)* went round with trunks collecting everything that was precious. Afterwards the order was given to strip. The majority of witnesses state that the men were stripped in the courtyard itself; the women and children in a hut on the left. In the huts 60 barbers were kept busy cutting off the women's hair. Meanwhile the naked men were driven about with whips and made to run and collect all

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the clothes from the whole transport, putting them in heaps to be sorted. Then, when the women had had their hair cut off, the naked men, women and children were directed on to the road leading to the gas-chambers, being told that they were going to the baths. At first the victims were ordered to take a zloty each in their hands as bath fee, the better to deceive them up to the last moment the money being collected by an Ukrainian in a hut by the way, but later this practice was stopped. In front of the entrance to the gas-chamber there were usually several Ukrainians standing by with dogs, who cruelly drove the victims in, often wounding them with knives. The victims were driven into the gas-chambers with their hands up, so that as many might be squeezed in as possible, and small children were piled on top.

SS-man Hitreider specialised in killing infants, seizing them by the legs and killing them with one blow on the head against a fence.

The actual gassing in the chambers lasted about 15 minutes; and after the state of the victims had been observed through a special small window, the doors on the outside of the building were opened, and the corpses, being so closely packed inside, fell out of their own weight on to the ground.

Instantly the Jewish workers removed them, and prepared the place for the next batch.

At first the corpses were buried in pits, but afterwards they were burnt. Only a few hours passed between the arrival of a train-load by the branch line and their gassing.

The Treblinka camp was in reality just a place of mass execution.

V.

An accurate calculation of the number of victims is at present impossible. It will be remembered that Treblinka

ceased its activities in the autumn of 1943, so that the German authorities had enough time to wipe out the traces of their crimes. The most reliable method of counting the number of victims is by counting the number of train-loads. The figures based on the dimensions of the gas chambers give no guarantee whatever of accuracy, as we do not know, firstly, how often the gas-chambers were used, and, secondly, the number of people who, on an average, were gassed at any one time.

In establishing the number of train-loads, the commission based its findings on the evidence given by the witnesses, laying special stress on the statements of the railway workers and on the railway records from Treblinka station, which are in the possession of the commission of enquiry.

The most active period seems to have been from August to the middle of December, 1942. During that time we may assume one daily train-load as unquestionable according to the evidence of the railway-workers. Indeed four witnesses put the figure at two per day. After that, from the middle of January to the middle of May, 1943, the average was probbably one a week. Some of the witnesses put the figure at three.

The average number of wagons in a transport was 50 through sometimes, as the railway records showed, it was as many as 58.

The total number of wagon-loads of victims from August 1, 1942, to May 15, 1943, may be taken, with some certainty, to have been 7,550.

In the later period, from the railway records; the list of the wagons for August 17, 1943; a telegram of August 18, 1943; and a document entitled *Fahrplanordnung Nr. 290* sent from Treblinka station by the *Reichsbahndirektion Königsberg*, the number of train-loads could be established quite accurately.

In the above-mentioned *Fahrplanordnung* we read among ather things: *Zur Abbeförderung von Aussiedlern verkehren*

folgende Sonderzüge von Bialystok nach Malkinia. Ziel Treblinka, from which it may be concluded that after the revolt the following train-loads, were brought in: on Aug. 27, 1943, 41 wagons; on Aug. 19, 35 wagons; on Aug. 21, two transports of 38 wagons each; on Aug. 22, two transports of 39 wagons each; and on Aug. 23, one transport of 38 wagons; i. e. a total of 266 wagons.

As an average number of persons per wagon we may take 100 (the majority of witnesses deposed that it was more than 150).

According to this calculation the number of victims murdered at Treblinka amounts to at least 731,600. Taking into consideration the great caution with which the investigators assessed the number of train-loads and the average number of persons per wagon, this must be accepted as probable, that in actual fact the number of victims was even larger[1]).

VI.

It was mostly Jews Polish citizens from the central parts of the country (Warsaw, Radom, Częstochowa, Kielce and Siedlce) who were killed at Treblinka; though there were Jews from the vicinity of Bialystok, Grodno and Wolkowysk; German, Austrian, Czech and Belgian Jews from the west, and Greek Jews from the south.

The railway documents have enabled a number of localities to be identified from which the trains were originally dispatched. We read that on August 6, 1942, a transport

[1]) It should be pointed out that from pertinent documents such as telegrams, time-tables and way-bills it appears absolutely certain that more than two thousand wagon-loads of Jews were brought to Treblinka; yet these documents constituted but a small part of all the railway documentary evidence, the greater part of which is lost.

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arrived from Warsaw; on September 1 others from Wloszczowa and Sedziszow; on September 27, one from Kozienice; on October 4, 1942, one from Częstochowa; on February 14, 1943, one from Grodno; on March 23 and April 1, 1943, one from Vienna; on March 26 one from Salonica; on March 29 one from Skoplje (Jugoslavia); and on August 23, 1943, one from Bialystok.

This is the last transport to Treblinka of which we have definite data.

Among the evidence is a collection of coins, Polish, Soviet, German, Austrian, Czech, Greek, Belgian, French and even American, dug up during levelling operations at Treblinka. A German-Jewish identity card issued at Göttingen, the remains of a Soviet passport, and a collection of Polish documents were also found.

One of the witnesses, called Strawczyński, stated that his brother, who worked in the camp sorting the clothing, told him that he also found English documents. The witness Rajzman saw a certificate issued by Cambridge University.

Besides the Jews who were murdered in this extermination camp, there were a certain number of Gipsies and Poles, but it is impossible to establish exactly how many.

VII.

The belongings of the victims were systematically collected and sorted, before being sent to the Reich. Specialisation in the sorting of this Jewish property even extended to eyeglasses and fountain pens. Gold, jewels and money were collected and sorted with particular care. From time to time lorries were dispatched from the camp loaded with goods of every kind. Among the proofs of this there is a collection of military tickets *(Wehrmachtsfahrscheine)* dated September

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2—21, 1942. They relate to 203 freight-trains loaded with clothing (described as *Bekleidung der Waffen SS*). The lists were stamped with an official seal inscribed *Der SS Polizeiführer SS Sonderkommando im District Warschau.*

A typical Nazi proceeding was to pack the women's hair, after it had been steamed, in bales, and send it to Germany.

*

The eradication of all traces of the crime by wholesale burning of corpses began after Himmler's visit in the early spring of 1943 and lasted till the Warsaw Rising, or even later. The camp was finally closed in November, 1943.

During the investigation when the grund was levelled, no collective graves were found, and this together with the evidence given by the witnesses leads to the conclusion that almost all the remains were burnt; the German authorities having had plenty of time to do it since the camp was closed.

The site of the camp was ploughed over and sown, and on it Ukrainians were settled. They fled, however, on the approach of the Red Army.

THE EXTERMINATION CAMP AT CHEŁMNO [KULMHOF]

IV.

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I.

The extermination camp at Chełmno was a typical death camp, i. e. a place designed exclusively for killing all who were brought there. The only ones to be saved were a small group of workers selected by the Germans for work connected with their criminal activities.

The extermination camp at Chełmno demands special attention, because during the German occupation only a very few people in Poland ever knew of its existence and the hundreds of thousands of its victims.

The village of Chełmno (district of Koło) is situated 14 km. (8¾ miles) from the town of Koło, through which runs the main railway line from Łódź to Poznań, and which is connected with the village of Chełmno by a branch line.

Łódź, the second largest city of Poland, which in 1939 had a Jewish population of 202,000, was relatively near (60 km or 37½ miles); the road to it was good and little used.

In the village there was a small country house surrounded by an old park, which was owned by the State and stood empty. In the vicinity was a pine-wood, sections of which, densely planted with young trees, were almost impenetrable.

This site the German occupation authorities selected for their extermination camp. The park was enclosed by a high wooden fence which concealed everything that went on behind it. The local inhabitants were expelled from the village, only a few workers being left to do the necessary jobs.

Inside the enclosure were two buildings, the small country house and an old granary, besides which the Germans constructed two wooden hutments. The whole enclosure where

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hundred of thousands of people were done to death measured only 2 ha (5 acres).

Those who were brought here for destruction, were convinced till the very last moment that they were to be employed on fortification work in the East. They were told that before going further they would have a bath, and that their clothes would be disinfected. Immediately after their arrival at the camp they were taken to the large hall of the house, where they were told to undress, and then they were driven along a corridor to the front door, where a large lorry, fitted up as a gas-chamber, was standing. This, they were told, was to take them to the bath-house. When the lorry was full, the door was locked, the engine started, and carbon monoxide was introduced into the interior through a specially constructed exhaust pipe. After 4—5 minutes, when the cries and struggles of the suffocating victims were heard no more, the lorry was driven to the wood, 4 km (2½ miles) away, which was enclosed with a high fence and surrounded with outposts. Here the corpses were unloaded and buried, and afterwards burnt in one of the clearings.

II.

The aim of the Chełmno camp was the extermination of the Jews from the Warthegau, i. e., the part of Poland, which consisted of the 1939 province (voivodship) of Poznania, almost the whole province of Łódź, and a part of the province of Warsaw, inhabited altogether by 4,546,000 people (including 450,000 Jews.)

The camp was established in November, 1941. The extermination process began on December 8, with the ghetto population of the cities and towns of the Warthegau, first from the neighbouring Kolo, Dąbie, Sompolno, Kłodawa and many other places, and later from Łódź itself.

The first Jews arrived at Chełmno from Łódź in the middle of January, 1942. From that time onwards an average of 1000 a day was maintained, with short intermissions, till April, 1943.

Besides those who were brought by rail, others were delivered at the camp from time to time in cars, but such were comparatively rare. Besides those from Poland there were also transports of Jews from Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Luxemburg and Holland; as a rule the Łódź ghetto served as a distribution centre. The total number of Jews from abroad amounted to about 16,000.

Besides the 300,000 Jews from the Warthegau about 5.000 Gipsies and about a thousand Poles and Russian prisoners-of-war were murdered at Chełmno. But the execution of the latter took place mostly at night. They were taken straight to the wood, and shot.

In 1943 4 lorries filled with children aged from 12—14 without Jewish emblems were brought. The witnesses took the impression that they were "Aryans". It was just at this time that the Nazis were expelling the Polish population from the neighbourhood of Zamość, and as a rule separating children from their parents.

III.

According to the evidence of three witnesses (Podchlebnik, Srebrnik and Żurawski) who succeeded in escaping from the camp of Chełmno[1]), as well as to that of Polish witnesses drawn from the population of the neighbourhood who had been able to get in touch with the inmates of the camp, and, finally, that obtained from the railway transport records, the follow-

[1]) From the above 300,000 Jews transported to Chełmno, only 4 survived (data of enquiry).

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ing preparatory phases in the process of mass execution can be distinguished:

Jews who were taken were told that they were going for military work in the East. Except for those from Łódź, it was the practice to surround the town at dawn with gendarmerie, police, SS, army, and Nazi party units in order to prevent the escape of the Jews. The latter were collected at appointed places, and were allowed to take hand-baggage with them; having been told that they were going to be taken for work on fortifications in the East. Only small numbers of craftsmen, such as tailors, furriers and shoemakers, were selected and sent to the ghetto at Łódź.

At the same time, all that was going on at the camp was kept so secret that the Jews taken there had no notion whatever of what was awaiting them. Many, indeed, applied voluntarily to be sent to Chelmno and the East.

The railway trains which used to bring the Jews from Łódź consisted as a rule of 20—22 wagons. At Kołо the transportees, usually about 1000 at one time, were reloaded and sent by the branch line to Powiercie, the rail-head[1]), whence their baggage was dispatched straight to Chelmno, while they themselves were taken under an escort of 6—8 gendarmes to the neighbouring village of Zawadki, and left for the night in a large mill building.

The next morning three lorries used to come for them from Chelmno, about 2 km (a mile and a quarter) away. Not more then 100—150 were taken at a time, that being the number which could be gassed in one operation. The whole process was so arranged that the next batch of victims remained till the last moment ignorant of the fate of those who had preceded them. The whole thousand were disposed of by 1 or 2 p. m.

The loaded lorries entered the camp grounds and stopped before the house, where the new-comers were addressed

[1]) The auto transports came directly to Chelmno.

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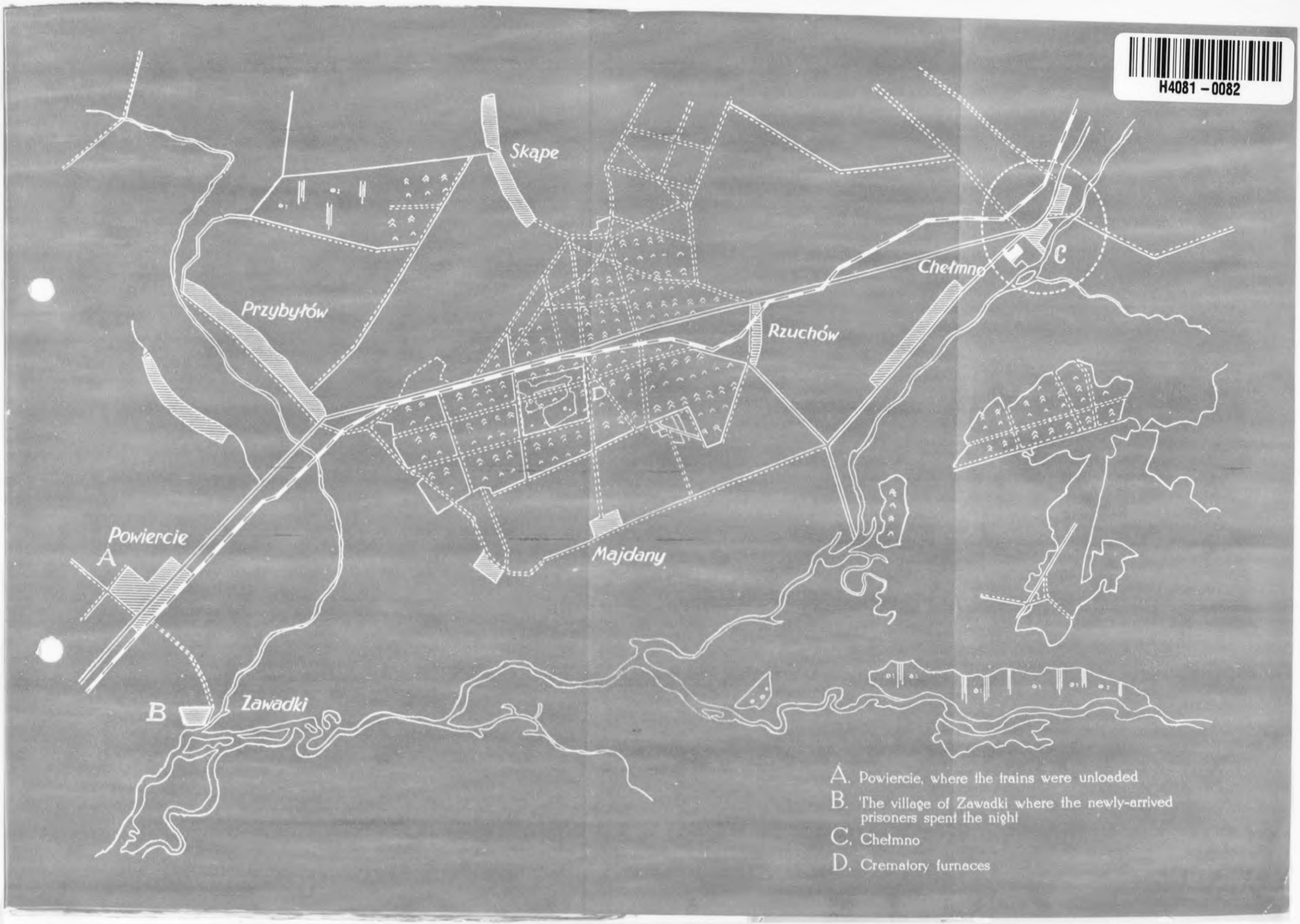

A. Powiercie, where the trains were unloaded

B. The village of Zawadki where the newly-arrived prisoners spent the night

C. Chełmno

D. Crematory furnaces

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by a representative of the *Sonderkommando*, who told them they were going to work in the East, and promised them fair treatment, and good food. He also told them that first they must take a bath and deliver their clothes to be disinfected. From the court-yard they were sent inside the house, to a heated room on the first floor, where they undressed. They then came downstairs to a corridor, on the walls of which were inscriptions: "to the doctor" or "to the bath"; the latter with an arrow pointing to the front door. When they had gone out they were told that they were going in a closed car to the bath-house.

Before the door of the country house stood a large lorry with a door in the rear, so placed that it could be entered directly with the help of a ladder.

The time assigned for loading it was very short, gendarmes standing in the corridor and driving the wretched victims into the car as quickly as possible with shouts and blows.

When the whole of one batch had been forced into the car, the door was banged and the engine started, poisoning with its exhaust those who were locked inside. The process was usually complete in 4 or 5 minutes, and then the lorry was driven to Rzuchów wood about 4 km (2½ miles) away, where the corpses were unloaded and burnt.

Meanwhile lorries were bringing from Zawadki the next batch of 100—150 persons, destined to be disposed of in the same way, all traces of the previous batch having been removed and their belongings, (clothing, shoes etc.) taken away.

When the camp was "liquidated" in 1944 the gas-chamber lorries were sent back to Germany. At the inquiry it was established that they had originally been brought from Berlin. There were 3 of them, one large enough to hold about 150 persons, and two with a capacity of 80—100 each. Their official name was *Sonderwagen*.

As the *Sonderkommando* of the camp had no repair shops, and the cars often needed overhaul, they were sent to the *Kraft und Reichsstrassenbauamt* repair shops at Kolo. 8 Polish mechanics who had worked there were examined at the inquiry described their construction as follows: the large lorry measured 6×3 metres (20×10 ft.); and the smaller ones 4·5 or 2,3×2·5 metres (15 or 16×8 ft.). The outside was covered with narrow overlapping boards, so that it looked as though it were armoured. The inside was lined with iron plates and the door fitted tightly, so that no air could get in from outside. The outside was painted dark grey.

The exhaust pipe was placed underneath and discharged its gas through a vent in the middle of the floor, which was guarded by a perforated iron plate, to prevent it from choking. On the floor of the car was a wooden grating.

The engine was probably made by Sauer. By the driver's seat was a plate with the words: *Baujahr 1940-Berlin*. In the driver's cabin were gas-masks.

IV.

In Rzuchów wood 4 klm (2½ miles) from Chelmno, the camp authorities enclosed two sections and posted sentries on the adjoining roads.

Here the gas-lorries brought the corpses from Chelmno. After the door was opened 10 minutes were allowed for the complete evaporation of the gas, and then the bodies were unloaded by the Jewish *Waldkommando*, and carefully searched for concealed gold and valuables. Gold teeth were pulled out, finger-rings torn off.

Until the spring of 1942 the remains were buried in large common graves, one of which measured 270×9×6 metres (885×30×20 ft.).

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In the spring of 1942 two crematoria were built, and after that, all the dead were burnt in them (and the bodies previously buried as well).

Details about the furnaces are lacking, for the investigator could find no witnesses who had been in the wood in 1942 or 1943. Those who lived near had only noticed two constantly smoking chimneys within the enclosure.

The furnaces were blown up by the camp authorities on April 7, 1943. Two new ones were, however, constructed in 1944, when the camp activities were resumed. The witnesses Żurawski and Srebrnik, and the captured gendarme Bruno Israel, who saw them in 1944, describe them as follows:

They were built deep in the ground and did not project above its surface; and were shaped like inverted cones with rectangular bases.

At the top on the ground level the furnaces measured 6×10 m (20×33 ft.) and they were 4 m (13 ft.) deep. At the bottom by the ash-pit they measured 1·5×2 m (95×6 in. ft.). The grates were made of rails. A channel to the ash-pit ensured the admittance of air and permitted the removal of ashes and bones.

The sides of the furnace were made of firebrick and faced with cement.

In the furnace were alternate layers of chopped wood and corpses: to facilitate combustion, space was left between the corpses. The furnace could hold 100 corpses at a time, but as they burned down, fresh ones were added from above.

The ashes and remains of bones were removed from the ash-pit, and ground in mortars, and, at first, thrown into specially dug ditches; but later, from 1943 onwards, bones and ashes were secretly carted to Zawadki at night, and there thrown into the river.

V.

The number of people killed at Chelmno could not be calculated from reliable data or railway records as the camp authorities destroyed all the evidence.

The investigators were therefore obliged to confine themselves to the evidence given by witnesses concerning the number of transports sent to Chelmno. In order to obtain as accurate an estimate as possible, witnesses were called from various points through which the transports passed (Lodz, Kolo, Powiercie, Zawadki and Chelmno) or on individual observation and the counting based on the collective railway tickets which they had seed (e. g. that of the woman Lange, a German booking-clerk at Kolo station), or finally individual observation and the counting of transports; or finally on what the members of the *Sonderkommando* told them about the number of victims.

All the witnesses agree that the average number of persons brought to the camp was at least 1000 a day. There were times when the number was larger, but 1000 may be accepted as a reliable average — exclusive of those who were brought in cars.

These latter were not a negligible proportion, coming as they did from numerous small towns.

As to how many railway-trains arrived during the whole time of the camp's existence, investigators found that the extermination activities at Chelmno lasted from December 8, 1941, to April 9, 1943. From April, 1943, till the final "liquidation" of the camp in January, 1945, strictly speaking the camp was not functioning — the total number of transports in this period amounting only to 10, bringing approximately 10,000 people.

Considering only the time from December 8, 1941, to April 7, 1943, 480 days, we must allow for a break of two months in the spring of 1942, when transports were stopped, as well as for certain interruptions due to merely technical causes,

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which, it was found, did not exceed 70 days altogether [1]). This gives (61+70), or 131—150 days lost.

The remainder, 330 days of full activity, may be unhesitatingly accepted, and if 1000 victims were murdered a day, the total was 330,000.

To this number must be added the 10,000 killed in 1944. The final total therefore is **340,000** men, women and children, from infants to old folk, killed at the extermination camp at Chelmno.

VI.

This mass destruction was carefully planned, down to the smallest detail. The victims were kept in ignorance of their fate, and the whole German staff did not exceed 150—180 persons.

Sonderkommando Kulmhof consisted only of a party of 20 SS-men, n. c. o's of gendarmerie, and over 100 members of the German police, who served as sentinels, helped in the camp and in the wood where the corpses were burnt, and guarded the neighbouring roads.

At the head of the camp was Hauptsturmführer Hans Bootman. (For the first few months the Commandant of the camp was a certain Lange, who had come, like all the SS-men, from Germany). The assistant of the Commandant was first Lange, then Otto Platte and Willi Hiller. All activities in the camp were managed by Untersturmführer Heffele. In charge of the works in the wood was Wachmeister Lenz. The crematoria were superintended by Hauptscharführer Johann Runge, who had directed their construction with the help of Unterscharführer Kretschmer. Hauptscharführer Gustav Laps, Hauptscharführer Bürstinge and Gilow served as drivers of the gas-wagons.

[1]) The camp was mainly active at Sundays and holidays. At Whitsuntide day (1942) the extermination activity was at Chelmno fully executed.

The investigators cited the names of 80 Germans who were members of the *Sonderkommando*. In addition to their wages they received hush-money *(Schweigegeld)* amounting to 13 RM a day. The Canteen was well stocked with food and spirits.

The inquiry showed that Greiser Gauleiter of the Warthegau, during one of his visits to the camp at the beginning of March, 1943, handed each of the members of the *Sonderkommando* 500 RM at a banquet specially given for them, and invited them to his estate when on leave.

It should be pointed out that when, in January, 1945, in view of the Soviet offensive, arrangements were being made for the final "liquidation" of the camp, the camp authorities waited till the last minute for Greiser to give the evacuation order (evidence of Israel Bruno, the arrested gendarme from Chelm).

The camp was also inspected personally by Himmler, and Dr. Bradfisch, chief of the Gestapo at Lodz, and Hans Bibow, the manager of the *Ghettoverwaltung* at Lodz, were constant visitors.

It was found that Greiser and the higher functionaries of the German administration who were in contact with the camp had received valuables which had belonged to murdered Jews. But the gendarmerie and police were very severely punished if they appropriated such things.

Apart from the *Sonderkommando* some 70 Jewish workers and 8 Polish prisoners from concentration camps were employed in the camp on searching and burning the corpses.

They worked in two parties: the *Hauskommando* in the camp enclosure, and the *Waldkommando* in the wood.

As a rule, after several weeks of work, these Jewish workers were killed, and replaced by fresh ones, newly arrived. They were fettered to check their movements. The workers at the ashpit in the wood as a rule did not live longer than a few days.

The attitude of members of the *Sonderkommando* towards the Jewish workers was cruel. Members of the SS used them as living targets, shooting them like hares.

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Besides this members of the *Sonderkommando* very often killed infants and small children, as well as old people, although they knew that they would be gassed anyway within the next few hours.

VII.

A further important factor inspiring the destruction of the Jews by the Nazi authorities was economic. The value of the property owned by 340,000 people amounted to a large sum.

The majority of things had been already taken from the Jews at the time of the evacuation of the ghettoes, but many valuables and gold were stolen in the camp itself.

The things which were seized were sent to different centres, mostly to Lodz, where they were collected and underwent a final examination before being sent to the Reich. It was stated for instance, that on Sept. 9, 1944, 775 wrist-watches and 550 pocket watches were sent from Chelmno to the *Ghettoverwaltung* at Lodz.

At the inquiry it was stated that the clothing of the victims was sold for the benefit of the winter assistance *(Winterhilfe)* fund. Among the documents of the case there is a letter of Jan. 9, 1943, to the ghetto administration at Lodz, sent by the *Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes: Der Gaubeauftragte Poznań*. It runs as follows: "Concerning the supply of textiles for NSV by the ghetto authorities. According to a personal understanding between you, my principal local Manager Kichhorn and the local Manager Koalick, clothes, dresses, and underwear are to be provided after *cleaning*. The 1,500 suits supplied do not correspond in any way to the textiles which we saw at Chelmno (Kulmhof), which were put at the disposal of the ghetto authorities: Your consignment contains various assorted articles of clothing, but no whole suits. Many articles of this clothing are badly stained and partly permeated with dirt and blood-stains. (Ein grosser

Teil der Bekleidungsstücke ist stark befleckt und teilweise auch mit Schmutz und Blutflecken durchsetzt). In one of the consignments sent to Poznan containing 200 jackets, on 51 of them the Jewish stars had not been removed! As they are mostly Polish workers in the camps of the district, the danger is that the settlers *(Rückwanderer)* who receive this clothing will become aware of its origin and WHW will be discredited *(und das WHW somit in Misskredit kommt)."*

From the above it may be concluded that German philanthropic institutions knew that the clothing sent from Poland had been owned by murdered Jews.

VIII.

The final activities of the camp at Chelmno in 1944 differ from those of 1941—1943 in this, that the victims were brought from Koło by a local branch railway line direct to Chelmno, where they were left for the night in the church, and the next day were taken directly to Rzuchów wood.

In this wood, at a distance of only 150 metres from the crematoria, two wooden huts were constructed, one of them designed, as was previously the country house at Chelmno, to be a dressing room for those going to the bath, and the other as a clothing and baggage store.

The general procedure was exactly as before, the victims, completely naked, being forced into gas-lorries and told they were going to the bath-house. After gassing the victims the lorries were driven to a near-by clearing, in which stood the crematoria where the corpses were burnt.

The total number of persons murdered in 1944 was about 10,000. According to the testimony of the witness Peham, the wife of a gendarme from the camp at Chelmno, train-loads of Hungarian Jews in 1944 were to be directed there. In the end, however, they were not sent there, but to Oswiecim.

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Fot. 42.

Fig. 42. A German photo of a group of victims just before going into the gas-wagon

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Fig. 43. Transhipment of a train-load of victims to narrow-gauge wagons at Kolo

Fig. 44. Unloading at Powiercie (German photo)

In the autumn of 1944 the camp in the wood was completely destroyed, the crematoria being blown up, the huts taken to pieces, and almost every trace of crime being carefully removed.

A Special Commission from Berlin directed, on the spot, the destruction of all the evidence of what had been done.

But up to the last moment January, 17, 1945, the *Sonderkommando* and a group of 47 Jewish workers stayed there.

In the night of January, 17/18, 1945, the *Sonderkommando* shot these last remaining Jews. When they tried to defend themselves and two gendarmes were killed, the *Sonderkommando* set fire to the building in which they were. Only two Jews, Zurawski and Srebrnik, survived.

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EXTERMINATION OF THE POLISH JEWS
IN THE YEARS 1939—1945

V

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I. Statistics of the Jewish population in Poland

The number of Jews within the boundaries of Poland before 1 Sep. 1939 can be only approximately established. The last official census before the war was on Dec. 9, 1931 and recorded 3,113,900 persons of the Jewish faith and moreover 18681 soldiers in barracks. If we assume an average yearly increase of population of 9 per thousand (or 28,000 in a year), we find that during the eight years (up to the end of 1939) the Jewish population had increased by 224,000. That is to say that the total on Sep. 1, 1939 amounted to more than 3,356,000.

This figure, however, must be considerably increased, for investigations carried out by Prof. St. Szulc, in charge of the Chief Statistical Office, show that the number of births among the Jewish population in Poland was at least 50% larger than that given in the official birth tables[1]).

If the necessary correction is made, we obtain the figure of 3,590,000 for the Jewish population in Poland. If from this we subtract 116,000 for Jews who migrated across the frontier between December, 1931, and September 1, 1939, it results that the actual number of Jews in Poland must have been about 3,474,000.

Assuming therefore as a basis this figure after taking into consideration the above—mentioned changes resulting from natural increase of population and emigration, we obtain the following data for the end of September 1939:

[1]) Prof. Stefan Szulc, "TheAccuracy of the Registration of Births and Deaths", *Polish Statistics*, Series C, Pt. 41, p. 150.

I. German occupation:

1. The General Gouvernement (Provinces of Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, Kielce, the city of Warsaw, Lwow to the river San)	1,639,000
2. Territories incorporated in the Reich (Provinces of Poznan, Pomerania, Silesia, Lodz, Bialystok)	678,000
	2,317,000

II. Territories annexed by the U. S. S. R.

1. of Lwow (Eastern part), Tarnopol, and Stanislawow	573,500
2. Volhynia	242,000
3. Western White-Russia and Lithuania, Provinces of Polesie, Nowogrodek and Wilno	341,500
	1,157,000

The above figures represent only theoretically the actual number of Jews. Actually by Sep. 1, 1939, they had been already modified.

The invasion by German motorized tanks and aircraft and their lightning advance caused vast movements of population all over Poland. Great masses of the civil population fled to the East and South. For example during the first days of September about 10,000 people fled from Cracow; among them 5—6,000 Jews. (*Bericht über die Tätigkeit der jüdischen Gemeinde in Krakau.* Cracow 1940, p. 69, hectograph).

Strictly speaking, already at the outset of the Second World War, after the end of the Polish Campaign in September 1939, great changes ensued in the territorial disposition of the Jewish population. Demographic changes were also caused by the material losses they sustained. In the fight for Poland against

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the German invader 32,216 Jewish officers and soldiers were killed and 61,000 taken prisoner. (Communiqué of the Polish General Staff of Oct. 9, 1939 cited by Isr. Cohen. *The Jews in the War.* London 1943, p. 67).

We must consider these Jewish prisoners-of-war also as casualties because only a few survived till the end of the war; the rest were murdered by the Germans. For instance only 449 Jewish prisoners released by the Germans returned to Cracow, during the period from Sep. 13, 1939 to Sep. 30, 1940 (*Bericht der jüdischen Gemeinde in Krakau* p. 13).

Some number of Jews perished also in air raids at the time when the Germans were bombing the civil population in the towns and the refugees on the roads (*Black Book of Polish Jewry.* N. York 1943, p. 200, *Hitler's Ten Years' War against the Jews* N. York 1943, p. 148).

Immediately before the outbreak of war, in the last weeks before and during the storm, only a few indyviduals succeeded in escaping to neutral countries: Hungary, Roumania and the Baltic States, before the Nazi invader. Their number amounted to 20.000—25.000 (*Black Book p. 169, Hitler's Ten Years' War, p. 155).*

After the cessation of military operations, and the establishment of a frontier between Germany and the Soviet Union, the exodus of the Jewish population continued. They were fleeing from the Germans, who had begun their rule with a series of unheard-of outrages against the Jews and Poles; the Jews found peace, safety and advantage on the territory of the Soviet Union. As a result of these migrations to the East, which were most intense in the autumn of 1939, the German-Soviet frontier was closed in November. At least 300,000 Jews had fled from the German occupation and settled in Soviet territory.

The question arises how many Jews could remain in German-occupied territory during the period of relatively stable political relations, about Jan. 1, 1940. The losses due to emigration

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and military casualties, as well as to the murders among the civilian population during the Polish Campaign, must be divided between the Jewish population in the German area, (66.6%) and that in the Soviet area (33.4%). The losses in German-occupied territory thus amount to some 120,000. If we add to these 300,000 who emigrated to the U. S. S. R., it will be seen that the Jewish population under German occupation fell to 1,900,000.

Very serious changes also occurred in the interior distribution of Jews in the German zone. In the first year of the German occupation large-scale moves to the East took place. About 60,000 Jews fled in September 1939 from the Western parts of Poland to Central Poland (i. e. the so called General Gouvernement) and were unable to return to their own part of the country, where the total expulsion of the Jews had been enacted. So up to July 1, 1940, the Germans expelled a further 330,000 Jews from the territories incorporated in the Reich into the territory of the General Gouvernement (H. H. Seraphim, p. 61). [1])

In this way the Jewish population in the incorporated territories was reduced to 250,000 (after emigration and civilian and military casualties). The Jews however from the General Gouvernement made up for these losses; and the figure once more rose to about 1,650,000. Moreover a great many Jewish settlers were brought in by the Germans from the West (mainly from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia; but also from Holland, Belgium and other countries).

About 200,000—300,000 Jews had been deported into the General Gouvernement by the end of 1942. But this expulsion by no means made up for the demographic losses of the Jewish population. Meanwhile, due to hunger, persecution, executions

[1]) „Die Judenfrage im G. G. als brennendes Problem", *Die Burg* Monthly, Vol. X (1940), p. 61.

and "special action", many Polish Jews perished, and the fate of many settlers from the West was no better.

It may therefore be taken that the number of Jews in the General Gouvernement did not surpass one and a half million notwithstanding the immigration from the West. In the Summer of 1941, after the Germans had overrun the territories evacuated by the Soviet Army, the number of Jews in German-occupied Poland amounted to 2,800,000 persons.

2.

The Polish Jews were mostly assembled in the larger and smaller towns. The census of 1931 showed that 77% of the Polish Jews lived in the cities, and only 23% in the country. According to Seraphim, in the middle of 1940 88% of the Jewish population in the General Gouvernement were living in the towns.

This urbanization and concentration of the Jews was very convenient for the Germans, and facilitated their policy of persecution. At the time of the outbreak of war the Jewish population was scattered over the whole of Poland in about 1000 urban and rural localities. It was to the advantage of the Germans that at the end of 1942, when the large-scale exterminations began, the Jews were already concentrated at a number of points in not more than 54 urban settlements, to which they had been deported from the country districts.

This tendency to concentrate the Jews in big urban centres *(Zusammenballung)* is more obvious if we analyse the growth of several of the larger Jewish communities in Polish territory. The most typical examples is Warsaw, where the Germans organised a super-Ghetto. At the end of October 1939 (the registration carried out by the Jewish community in Warsaw on Oct. 28, 1939, according the *Black Book* p. 32) Warsaw was inhabited by 359,827 Jews, and by the middle of 1942, notwithstanding the high mortality and deportations for forced labour, this

number had risen, according to certain authors, to 540,000 including about 150,000 immigrants from other localities. The Germans expelled 72,000 Jews to Warsaw from the left bank of the Vistula in the Spring of 1941. (Du Prel: *Das Generalgouvernement*, Cracow 1942, edition, pp. 348—9, *Zwei Jahre Aufbauarbeit in District Warschau*, Warsaw, 1941, pp. 72—73).

A similar concentration was made, but on a smaller scale, in other cities. So for instance at Cracow, which in 1931 had 56,000 Jews, but in 1939, owing to natural increase, about 60,500. By the Spring of 1940, owing to military events and expulsions *(Krakauer Ztg.* 14. XII. 1941), this number had risen to 70,000. The official number of registered Jews in the Summer of 1940 amounted to 68,482 *(Bericht der Jüd. Gemeinde in Krakau* p. 87).

The official statistics of the Jewish community at Cracow show that on June 1, 1940 (first incomplete census of the Jewish population), there were 54,517 in Cracow, of whom about 11,000 were new-comers. *(Bericht d. Jüd. Gemeinde* p. 99). In Lublin, which in 1931 had 38.900 Jews, and in the year 1939 had 37,034 (according to the *Official Register of the Jewish Community* of Oct. 25, 1939), the Jewish population amounted in round numbers to 50,000 in 1940 (Seraphim p. 61, Du Prel, G. G. lst ed., p. 169).

In Czestochowa, which had about 25,600 inhabitants in 1931, the Jewish population increased to 30,000. (Du Prel, GG., lst ed. p. 100), including of course the many who had been expelled. The records of the Municipality of the town of Czestochowa at the end of 1940 give the following data: in January 1940 28,714 Jews, in December of the same year 33,635. [1])

Of the 13,800 Jews in Piotrkow, 3,625 were exiled *(Jewish Gazette*, June 30, 1940).

[1]) *Statistical Annual of the Town Council of Częstochowa* vo. II p. 134. *Archives of the Municipality of Częstochowa*, section III No. 5044/689, Bur.

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At the end of 1941 23,035 Jews were deported to Lodz, among them about 20,000 from Germany, Vienna, Prague and Luxemburg, and 3,082 from Wloclawek and its vicinity. In the first part of 1942 7,649 Jews were expelled from the so called Warthegau Districts of Lodz and Poznan, and part of the district of Warsaw. [1])

Kielce, which had 18,000 Jews in 1931, had about 25,400 Jews in 1940 (Du Prel, GG., lst ed., p. 100).

Bialystok, which had 39,165 Jews in 1931, had about 56,000 Jews in the years 1942 — 1943 (Dr. Simon Datner: *The Fight and Extermination of the Ghetto in Bialystok*, published by Centr. Jew. Histor. Comm. Lodz, 1946.)

These examples suffice to prove what an influence German policy had on the changes in the distribution of the Jewish population.

In normal conditions the statistical outline of the demographic development would not be complete without the registration of population movements. But in our case, Jewish migrations have a special character; these migrations were compulsory, and were accompanied by loss of property, health, and often life. We cannot speak of any natural movement of the Jewish population, as the number of deaths rose to an incredible degree, and the birth-rate fell catastrophically till finally there were no more births at all.

II. Phases and methods of the „solution of the Jewish problem" under the German occupation.

In the political programme of Nazi Germany not only the military conquest of Poland, and other countries on her Eastern

[1]) Non edited printed proof sheets *„Statist. Jahrb. d. Juden in Litzmannstadt"* as well as other statistical material possessed by the Central Arch. of the Jewish Histor. Comm. of. Lodz.

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border were included, but also a partial extermination of the native population in order to facilitate German colonization of the depopulated areas. Simultaneously with the programme for the destruction of a larger number of Slavs (according to the testimony of witnesses at the Nuremberg Trial, Hitler planned the destruction of 30,000,000 Slavs) the Nazi authorities purposed the total extirpation of the Jews.

According to evidence given by witnesses at the Nuremberg Trial (evidence of Lahausen concerning the plan accepted by Ribbentrop and Keitel at the conference in Hitler's car on Sep. 12, 1939), as well as to official German documents,[1]) and the pronouncements of Hitler and Streicher, and the articles of Goebbels[2]), this policy of physical extirpation had already been decided upon at the outbreak of war in 1939.

The Nazi Germans began to carry out their programme for the destruction of the Jews as early as the first day after the outbreak of war; but it is not quite certain if the plan for the complete extermination of the Jews existed at that time. It appears that there were differences of opinion among the leaders of the Third Reich regarding this problem, in 1939 and 1940 and even at the beginning of 1941 (speech by A. Rosenberg of March 28, 1941, and at the opening of the Research Institute for Jewish Problems — *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage* at Frankfort on Main). In some circles plans for a less cruel solution of the Jewish problem were put forward: by way of emigration and the assembling of all Jews in a land

[1]) Particularly the order issued by Chief-of-Police Heydrich at Berlin on Sep. 21, 1939 to the Chiefs of all the special-service Groups *(Einsatzgruppen)* of the Security Police concerning the Jews in the Occupied Territories.
This document sets forth both the final aim of anti-Jewish policy, and the gradual phases of its execution.

[2]) Hitler's speeches of Dec. 31, 1939, Jan. 30, 1941, Jan. 30, 1942. A Speech of Streicher of Oct. 31, 1939 (Records of the Nuremberg Trial No. 2583 PS.), Articles by Goebbels in *Das Reich* of July 20, 1941, and June 14, 1942.

outside Europe, far from any white people, but near to the black races, under strict police supervision[1]).

While these plans were being debated and discussed, the slow and gradual extermination of the Jews by all possible means had already been undertaken. The Jews were put outside the law.

Though the Poles were considered as citizens of an inferior class *(Schutzangehörige des Reiches)* in the districts incorporated in the Reich, the Jews and Gipsies were excluded even from this category; i. e. they were deprived of the protection of the State[2]).

This contempt for the Jews and their exceptional legal situation was manifested in a series of regulations. By an order dated Nov. 23, 1940 they were compelled to bear special marks. By an order dated Jan. 26, 1940, they were deprived of the right to travel or to change their place of residence. By an order of Jan. 24, 1940 *(Vdgbl. T. VII. 5)*, their right to hold property was limited, and it was finally abolished by orders of Sep. 22, 1939, and Jan. 24, 1940, and, for the incorporated area, by an order of Sep. 17, 1940.

Further, the Jewish communities had to make contributions of gold, silver, furs and other precious objects. The ration of food allowed to the Jewish population was much smaller and far worse than that of the other inhabitants of the country.

From 1940 onwards ghettoes or Jewries were instituted in different Polish cities and towns. For this purpose the worst districts of the towns were chosen without gardens and squares, and there was consequent overcrowding, dirt and disease.

[1]) Speech by A. Rosenberg: *Die Judenfrage als Weltproblem — Dokumente der deutschen Politik.*
H. Erich Seifert: *Der Jude zwischen den Fronten der Rassen, der Völker, der Kulturen.* Berlin 1942, p. 154-155.

[2]) Order dated March 3, 1941, Reichsgesetzblatt I, 118 § 7 an order dated Jan. 31, 1942, Reichsgesetzblatt I, 51.

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The German authorities were easily able to control the import of food into the enclosed ghettoes, as well as their property, hygiene, etc. The Jewish population, thus massed in one place, was an easy target for persecution of every kind, and could the more easily be exterminated. Accordingly the ghettoes in the hands of the German authorities became the main instruments whereby the destruction of the Jewish population was carried out.

Besides the ghettoes Nazi Germany created other instruments of extermination: the forced labour camps, and training camps *(Zwangsarbeitslager, Erziehungslager)*.

At the very beginning of its occupation, an order was issued on Oct. 26, 1939, providing that Jews from the age of 14 to 60 must perform forced labour. The first camps were organised at the end of 1939, and in them Jews, regardless of age, educution or profession were forced to do heavy work of all kinds, such as cultivating the fields, or damming rivers, in excessively bad working conditions, and under Draconian discipline, with frequent corporal punishment. The whole scheme was merely another means of exterminating the Jewish population; some of the workers, owing to the terrible conditions, perishing in the camps; while those who returned home were in most cases sick and unfit for further employment.

During the whole of this period, from the beginning of the German occupation, the Jewish population were constantly terrorized and severely punished for minor offences. Sometimes huge fines were levied; sometimes there were mass executions. Leaving the ghetto was punished with death. Hundreds of death sentences were passed for this offence by the German Special Courts, and all of them were carried out. The same penalty was exacted for not wearing the Jewish markings, for buying food illegally, for using means of transport forbidden to the Jews, as well as for absenteeism and sabotage.

The Jewish population, being outside the law, no one was held responsible for killing, wounding or robbing a Jew.

All these measures — restriction of rights, ghettoes, starvation, labour camps and terrorism, were causing large casualties among the Jewish population, but did not result in their complete extirpation. A plan had already been hatched in the minds of the leaders of the Third Reich before the outbreak of war with Russia. At the outset of the Russian Campaign Hitler and his advisers decided first of all to destroy the Jewish population in the area overrun. Later this plan was extended to the Jews of Poland, and afterwards to those of Europe in general.

The execution of the task of finally "liquidating" the Jews was entrusted to the XIVth Section of the RSHA[1]), at the head head of which stood Adolf Eichmann. In order to carry out this work on the Eastern Front four special groups *(Einsatzgruppen)* were organized from the members of the SS and SD, distinguished by the successive letters of the alphabet A, B, C, D, and created in agreement with the Headquarters of the German Army. The A-group was entrusted with the destruction of the Jews in the Baltic countries. The D-group was given a wide field of activity, extending from Cernauti in Roumania to the Caucasus. The B-and C-groups were active in the central sector of the eastern front and its rear, including Poland. One of these groups, the Reinhard group famous for its crimes, dealt with the province of Warsaw, Lublin, Cracow and Lwow, in the General Gouvernement[2]).

All this action against the Jews went on from the middle of 1941 to the end of 1942. Besides Polish Jews, the Germans brought to Poland for extermination hundreds of thousands of Jews from other countries in Europe. In the years 1943 and 1944

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[1]) Reichssicherheitshauptamt.

[2]) Data based on the statements of major-general Otto Ohlendorf, chief of the Office No. III in the Chief Security Court of the Reich (Nuremberg trial Jan. 3, 1946).

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activity began gradually to decrease, the bulk of the Jewish population having by that time been exterminated.

The orders of the Chief Commanders of the SS provided quite clearly for the extirpation of the Jews, with the exception only of such as were to work. These men and women were sorted out and taken to camps. This did not mean, however that their lives were saved. The régime in the camp grew more and more severe during the progress of liquidation outside the walls of the camps. For the aim of labour camp policy was not so much to squeeze the last ounce of work out of the Jews as to kill them by overwork and physical torture.

But besides the original type of labour camp, a new type was organised — the extermination camp, designed only for the quick killing of the victims who were brought there, and provided with special technical arrangements in the form of gas-chambers and crematoria.

We may accordingly divide the gehenna of the Jews under the German occupation into two periods: In the first the Germans used different methods to speed up the process of extermination of Jews; while in the second afterwards for contrast called the small terror period, no more than a few hundreds being murdered the Germans proceed to the extirpation of the Jews in the ghettoes and camps.

III. The Period of the "Small terror" and "Cold pogroms".

At the very outbreak of war, after the German armies had crossed into Polish territory, the fate of the Jews who were unable to escape from the onrushing Nazi armies was indeed wretched.

The soldiers got up exhibitions of Jewish refugees, often beating and robbing them, and in many cases shooting them.

Often they would drive together a great crowd of Jewish refugees, several thousands in number, and put them in quarantine. After being detained in locked premises without food or

drink, the Jews were finally released, with rude mockery, barefooted and nearly naked. When they at last returned home, new troubles awaited them. In most cases their shops and flats had been plundered, and in consequence they sank to the lowest depths of misery. In some localities the Germans re-arrested them, for trying to escape, and treated them as enemies of the "New Order" (see Kalisz *Black Book* p. 6).

Although the idea of exterminating the Jewish population was accepted by the Nazis clearly and without any ambiguity long before the outbreak of war, the Germans persisted in hypocrital attempts to deceive their victims. They tried to lull the vigilance of the Jews, giving lavish promises which they did not intend to keep. Thus the German officers sent to discuss terms for the capitulation of Warsaw gave a promise that not a single hair should fall from the heads of the Jewish population. This assertion was repeated by wireless in good faith by the Mayor of Warsaw, St. Starzynski. Even Field-Marshall and Commander-in-Chief Walter von Brauchitsch in his speech delivered over the wireless on Sep. 4, 1939, assured the Polish Jews that they need have no anxiety about their fate; and General Blaskowitz, Commander of the forces besieging Warsaw, issued a proclamation on Sep. 30, 1939, which was posted up in the streets of Warsaw, repeating the same assertion and ordering the Jews to return quietly to their occupations.

None of these promises was kept by the Germans, even temporarily.

From the first moment of the German invasion fierce attacks on the Jews began. In the first weeks of the German occupation their outrages already showed all the elements of the future German extermination policy, save only perhaps the gas-chambers and crematoria. There were already robberies, "searchings", contributions, confiscations, the taking of hostages, beating and torture, mockery and derision, humiliation, organizations of insulting performances and shows and then

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their reproduction for the cinema, Jew-hunts, compulsion to do hard and humiliating labour, violation of women, the desecration of objects held sacred by the Jews, the burning of synagogues and Jewish libraries, expulsions, executions, and murders individual and collective.

In a number of localities, immediately after the German invasion, the Jews were ordered to reopen their shops (not only at Warsaw or Lublin, but even in such small towns as Belzyce and Gorlice). This was to make it easier for them to be plundered. Any traders who disobeyed this order were severely punished.

Methods, however, differed in different places. Sometimes, immediately after the Germans arrived, all Jewish shops were sealed and put at the disposal of the authorities (in Wloclawek, Radziejow, Czestochowa, Przemysl. *Central Arch. of the Jewish Hist. Comm.* rep. No. 375, 30, 32, 676). At Rzeszow the German commander ordered the confiscation of Jewish shops, at the same time, according to the principle *divide et impera*, promising non-Jewish pensioned employees managerial posts in them. In the larger establishments the expropriation of Jewish property was at once put on an organized basis. All the larger Jewish factories were immediately taken over by the State.

The German army confiscated Jewish stocks of textiles, leather and ironware. Large military lorries drove up to Jewish stores in Warsaw, Lodz, and other manufacturing towns and carried away all the goods. They often ordered even the owners and employees to act as porters, while frequently they were aided by the mob and the *Volksdeutsche* abetted by the German police and army. In almost all localities the demolition and robbery of Jewish flats, as well as plundering under the pretext of searching for incriminating evidence without any pretext at all, were everyday occurrences. Gold rings were often violently torn from their wearers fingers and ears (see Protocol from Oksza *Centr. Arch. of the Jew. Hist.*

Comm. No. 43; Prot. from Belchatow *C. A. of the J. H. C.* No. 84).

Jewish flats were often taken over. In many cases a *Volksdeutscher* would rush into a Jewish-owned flat and with watch in hand would order the owner to leave within from 5 to 20 minutes. Sometimes the latter would be allowed to take some small hand-baggage with him, but generally even this was forbidden. In rare instances the time allowed for leaving the flat was extended to several hours, or even longer.

Again, contributions were levied from the Jews on every possible pretext or sometimes without any pretext at all.

The amount and conditions of payment and the penalties if they were not paid were enormous. Each local authority demanded its own according to its individual whim. In some localities contributions had to be paid in instalments. Sometimes they were very high, amounting to tens of millions of zlotys.

Besides money the Germans demanded gold, and articles of value, silver and jewellery, which they extorted by terrorism, beating and tortures. Hostages were taken, but were not released after the contribution had been paid. If the sum demanded was not raised in time, employees and members of the Jewish Council would be shot, and hostages taken; or the defaulters were sent to concentration camps. From the findings of the local German authorities there was no appeal, for there was no law to protect the Jews.

The Germans did not limit themselves to the theft of Jewish property. During the first weeks of their invasion they organised pogroms in almost every Polish town and city, giving model lessons in the market places before audiences which were gathered by force from the non-Jewish population. During these lessons the Jews were ill-treated, derided and finally killed (at Siedliszcze, Minsk Mazowiecki, Wegrow, Radziejow etc.).

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In other places the Jews were forced to dance and sing, to shout and recite silly self-accusations (at Belzyce, Belchatow, Wegrow, Oksza, Zgierz etc.).

There were organized Jew-hunts in the streets, the hunters pretending to take them for work. They were ordered to assemble at an appointed hour in large numbers, and then were driven to another town, or to an improvised camp.

Jewish rabbis were particularly derided. Their beards were cut or torn, often even with strips of skin attached; or they were set on fire and the owners were not allowed to extinguish them (for instance at Warsaw in the Garden of the Diet, at Oksza, Zgierz, Wegrow, or Piotrkow). The rabbis and orthodox Jews were forced to dance and sing in public, or were driven mockingly along the streets in their liturgical vestments. At Cisna the Germans burnt their vestments and sacred books in the market place; they forced the Jews to set fire to the pile, and then to dance round it singing and repeating in chorus: „Wir freuen uns, wie das Dreck brennt". ("How glad we are the filth is burning"). They were forced to sweep the streets wearing their vestments, or to scrub floors and clean latrines with them.

At Kalisz the Jews were forced to jump over a fire of books and vestments (*Black Book*, p. 7).

The Germans set the synagogues on fire or forced the Jews to do it themselves. During this period several hundreds of synagogues were burnt or blown up. In the first fortnight after their arrival the Germans burnt all the synagogues at Bielsko (in the middle of September, 1939). The first building which was burnt by the Germans at Bydgoszcz was the local synagogue. From the 5th to the 10th of September the Germans burnt synagogues at Piotrkow and Aleksandrow. At Zgierz after the burning of the synagogue they forced the rabbi to sign a certificate to the effect that the Jews themselves had burnt their house of prayer. On Doomsday (Sep. 24, 1939) the Germans burnt the Jewish synagogues at Wloclawek; the

fire was filmed; and then 25 Jews were arrested and forced to sign a declaration that they had burnt the synagogue themselves. A fine of 100,000 zl was then imposed on the Jewish population. At the same time the synagogues were burnt at Grudziadz, Torun, Zamosc, Mielec, Czestochowa, Tarnow, and Katowice. At Grojec the Jews were forced to burn their synagogue, and afterwards some of the "incendiaries" were murdered. At Radziejow the Germans set fire to the synagogue and afterwards arrested the Jews as incendiaries, because a match-box had been found in the pocket of one of them.

Between Nov. 11 and 15, 1939, about 10 synagogues were burnt at Lodz. At Sosnowiec the Germans burnt three synagogues and arrested 250 Jews. At Siedliszcze they placed a bomb in the synagogue. At Poznan they burnt several synagogues and desecrated the chief one ceremoniously during the festivities of the *Hitler Jugend* and the Nazi party, and laid out a swimming-pool on its site. At Cracow and Bedzin the destruction and burning of Jewish synagogues and *beth-hamidrashes* was assigned to special brigades, called *Brennkommandos*. The Germans deliberately picked the most solemn Jewish holidays for this kind of activity. (At Wloclawek, Plonsk, Belzyce, and Mielec.) In many cases the Germans turned the synagogues into stables (At Gniewoszow and Makow), into factories (at Przemysl), into swimming-pools (at Poznan), into places of entertainment (at Nowy Tomysl), into health centres (at Gora Kalwarya), into prisons (at Kalisz), and even into public latrines (at Ciechanow) (*Krakauer Ztg.* of June 16, 1942. Brenner: *Chronicle of the town of Czestochowa*, ms. at the Centr. *J. H. C. Black Book* p. 226, 29, 7, Jews in Europe p. 26, *Jews' Survivors Report* No. 1. *The German New Order in Poland*, London 1941 p. 246); *Centr. J. H. C. Prot.* No. 280, 458, 826, 818, 372, 133).

The ill-treatment and abuse of the Jews applied not only to the male population, but also to the female. Notwithstanding the Nuremberg Act there were violations of Jewish women

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and young girls by the Germans (Belzyce, *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Diary of Mrs. Ferstmann, *Black Book* p. 8).

The work which the Germans forced the Jews to do had in most cases the character of penal servitude. The hardest and most humiliating labour was assigned to them: the removal of corpses, removal of rubble from the streets, carrying of loads, digging of ditches, and cleaning of water-closets. The amount and kind of labour demanded of an individual was usually too much for his strength, and if he found it impossible to finish, he was beaten unmercifully. (Jews were harnessed to carts and ordered to draw loads).

Sadistic orders were often given, Jews being made to clean out latrines with their hands (at Cisna, Kalisz and other localities); to collect horse-droppings in the market-place with their hands and to put them into their caps and pockets (at Cisna); or to clean out latrines with their hands and then to smear their faces with the excrement (at Kalisz, *Black Book*, p. 6).

In towns situated in the area which the Germans intended immediately to incorporate in the Reich the expulsion of Jews began as soon as the Germans arrived. This was chiefly in the provinces of Poznania, Pomerania, and Silesia, and on the borders of East-Prussia (Bielsko, Wysokie Mazowieckie, Kalisz, Torun, Bydgoszcz, and Suwalki. *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 969).

Expulsions also took place on the Soviet-German border, the Germans trying to drive the Jews across to the Soviet side. For instance, they were driven from Chelm and Hrubieszow to Sokal near the Soviet frontier, and during a march of several days many were shot (*Jews in Europe*, 26; *New Order* 220, evidence of S. Turteltaub, *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* No. 640). Also at Jaroslaw, Lancut, Przemysl, Tarnobrzeg and other towns on the frontier the Germans drove the Jews over it, and then boasted in their newspapers that these places had been rendered completely *judenrein* (*Krakauer Ztg.* Nov. 16, 1939 and July 17, 1940. *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Rec. No. 694 and 840).

At Jaroslaw, a week after their invasion, the Germans ordered the Jews to leave the town within half an hour (*Centr. J. H. C.* Rec. No. 837). How the crossing of the river San was made is described in a report by a witness, deposed at Lancut:

"We arrived at the river San on the third day of our exile. What happened there is difficult to describe. On the bank of the river Gestapo-men were waiting and driving people into a boat, or rather raft of two unbalanced boards, from which women and children fell into the river. We saw floating corpses everywhere; near the bank women stood in the water, holding their children above their heads and crying for help, to which the Gestapo-men answered by shooting. Blood, masses of floating corpses. It is impossible to describe the despair, shouts and helplessness of people in such a situation *(Documents of crime and martyrdom,* Cracow, 1945 p. 143 p. 143 publ. by *Centr. J. H. C.).*

Yet the Germans invented still crueller ways than these of cleaning out the Jews.

According to a report by an English journalist, Miss Baker-Beall, in the vicinity of Bydgoszcz this "cleaning" took the form of extermination; several thousands of Jewish men, women and children were driven into Bydgoszcz and there shot in a stable which was converted into a latrine (*New Order*, p. 137, *Black Book*, p. 6).

A report by the *S. D. Einsatzkommando Bromberg* of Nov. 14, 1939, to the Headquarters of the Security Police and to the Security Service in Berlin says: "The Jewish problem does not exist any longer at Bydgoszcz, as the city is quite free from Jews. During the cleaning up all Jews who did not think it suitable to disappear before were removed". The style of this report gives a good idea of the spirit of the SD *(Sicherheitsdienst)* in relation to the Jews (quoted from the *Illustrated Polish Courier*, Bydgoszcz Dec. 25, 1945).

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During these first weeks there was hardly a single town in Poland where the Germans did not shoot or torture Jews. Here are a few examples: in the small town of Wieruszow immediately on entering the Germans killed 20 Jews in the market place. (*Bl. Book* p. 5); at Czestochowa on Sep. 3, 1939, and the following day they killed over a hundred Jews; at Aleksandrow after their entrance on Sep. 7, 1939, they shot 60 Jews; and on Sep. 14, 1939, after torturing them they shot 45 more. At Ostrow Mazowiecki they murdered five hundred men, women and children (*Jews in the War*, p. 36; *New Order*, 200). At Trzebinia 150 Jews were killed; at Laskarzew almost every male; at Warta and Sosnowiec a certain number of Jews were arrested and afterwards decimated. (*The Jews in the War*, p. 35—37). At Przemysl in 1939 several hundred Jews were shot. At Lodz on the occasion of a visit by Goebbels on Oct. 8, 1939, a pogrom was organised, many Jews were murdered, and children were thrown by the SS-men from windows into the streets. At Wloclawek the Germans organized a pogrom on Doomsday, and afterwards the wounded were buried alive together with the dead at 69. Długa Street. At Zgierz 7 Jews perished, one of them (Zysman) being burnt alive, as having probably offered resistance (*Bl. B.*, p. 10, *Jews in the War*, p. 36).

At Lipsk (district of Ilza, near Kielce) a whole group of Jews was burnt alive in a synagogue. In Mielec on the Eve of the Jewish New Year, Sep. 13, 1939, the Germans drove 35 naked Jews from the bath, locked them in an adjoining butcher's shop, and then burnt it down. This was stated by eye-witnessess (*Jews and Poles Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 217; *Bl. B.*, p. 12).

In 1941 after the occupation of Bialystok by the Germans the same kind of events were repeated, only on a larger scale and with greater cynicism. The Germans burnt about a thousand Jewish men and boys June 27 1941. (*Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* No. 546; Dr. S. Datner: *Fight and Destruction of the Ghetto at Bialystok).*

Witnesses mention pogroms on a larger scale in the following towns: Chmielnik, Konskie, Kutno, Lask, Lowicz, Lukow, and Sieradz. (*Jews in the War.*, p. 35; *Jews in Europe*, p. 26).

In several cities such as Cracow, Lodz, Warsaw, Tarnow, and Kielce the Germans arrested or murdered outstanding Jewish social workers and representatives of the intelligentsia.

In the German-occupied area in 1941, immediately after the entrance of the German Army, pogroms were organised everywhere on a scale larger than that of the "blitz-pogroms" of 1939. They will be described in the next chapter.

IV. The period of "Liquidation Activities" in Ghettoes and camps.

During the first two years of the occupation the German extermination activities were not yet "total". All the above mentioned pogroms, executions, individual or group murders, accounted for the deaths of probably about 100,000 Jews.

The losses resulting from the so-called "cold pogroms" were much higher. Deprivation of civic rights, exclusion from all sources of livelihood, seclusion of ghettoes, hunger, and disease were decimating the Jewish population. In the larger cities especially mortality among the Jews greatly increased, and natural increase of population ceased almost entirely. Compulsory labour and bad living-conditions also caused many thousands of Jewish deaths.

All this obviously pointed to the gradual but complete extirpation of the Jews, but the tempo was too slow. The Germans realized that the old-fashioned pogroms alone could not "solve the Jewish problem". Dr. Stahlecker, head of a special-service *Einsatz* group A, writes clearly on the subject in a report to his superiors of Oct. 15, 1941. It was easy to foresee from the beginning that the Jewish problem in the

East could not be solved by pogroms. According to instructions received, the "cleansing" activities of the Police had as their aim the complete extermination of the Jews (Document No. 180 *Records of the Nuremberg Trial*).

The Germans now put their hopes, not on individual pogroms, but on a policy of pauperization and starvation of the Jews. These expectations were expressed in August 1942 quite clearly by Hans Frank, the Governor General, himself.

Speaking of the reduction by half of the food rations of the Poles, Frank said that "it must be done in cold blood and without pity. The fact that in this way we condemn 1,200,000 Jews to death by hunger is only of indirect importance. If the Jews should not starve I sincerly hope that it will inspire further anti-Jewish regulations". That is to say that if hunger and pogroms prove ineffectual for the "solution of the Jewish problem", more effective means must be applied. (*Records of the Nuremberg Trial*. Frank Diary. Doc. No. 2233).

The idea of the extirpation of the Jews probably took shape in the spring of 1941, before the Soviet campaign. It was decided first to root out the Jewish population of the territories conquered in the East from the U.S.S.R. as they were "infected with Communism" and therefore specially dangerous. This was decided, as the witnessess at the Nuremberg Trial stated, at a meeting not of the Reich Cabinet, but of some Hitler's closest collaborators. At staff conference which Hitler held several weeks before the opening of the Russian Compaign, he informed the High Command of the German Army of his plan to extirpate the Jews. The four special service groups *(Einsatzgruppen)* created during this period received definite instructions in this connexion, as is proved by the above-mentioned report of Dr Stahlecker.

The entire propaganda apparatus of the Third Reich was set in motion to work out a programme in preparation for this crime.

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In Hitler's speech of Jan. 30, 1941, one hears for the first time the gloomy forecast of mass slaughter: *"Und nicht vermeiden möchte ich auch den Hinweis noch darauf, den ich schon einmal, nämlich am 1. September 1939, im Deutschen Reichstag tat, dass nämlich, wenn wirklich die andere Welt von dem Judentum in einem allgemeinen Krieg gestürzt würde, das Judentum damit seine Rolle in Europa ausgespielt haben wird. Sie mögen auch heute noch lachen darüber, genau so, wie sie früher lachten über meine inneren Prophezeiungen. Die kommenden Monate und Jahre werden erweisen, dass ich auch hier richtig prophezeit hatte.*

"Schon jetzt aber sehen wir, wie unsere Rassenerkenntnis Volk um Volk ergreift, und ich hoffe, dass auch die Völker, die heute noch in Feindschaft gegen uns stehen, eines Tages ihren grösseren inneren Feind erkennen werden, und dass sie dann doch noch eine grosse gemeinsame Front mit uns eintreten werden: die Front einer arischen Menschheit gegenüber der internationalen jüdischen Ausbeutung und Völkerverderbung". (Der Grossdeutsche Freiheitskampf, II Band, Reden Adolf Hitlers, p. 222).

Hitler's speech on the day of the invasion of Russia, June 22, 1941, gives the direction to further anti-Jewish propaganda: *"Nicht Deutschland hat seine nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung jemals versucht, nach Russland zu tragen, sondern die jüdisch-bolschewistische Machthaber in Moskau haben es unentwegt unterzunommen, unserem und den anderen europäischen Völkern ihre Herrschaft aufzuoktroyieren, und dies nicht nur geistig, sondern vor allem auch militärisch machtmässig". (Der Grossdeutsche Freiheitskampf, Reden Adolf Hitlers p. 53).*

The war with the Soviets is proclaimed as the "Jewish War" — a war against the Jewish and Bolshevist authorities of the Kremlin. The same thesis is repeated in further speeches by Hitler on Oct. 2, 1941, and Nov. 8, 1941. The finishing touch is given by the Minister of Propaganda, Goebbels, in an article

in *Das Reich* of July 20, 1941, promising a "merciless and irrevocable judgement between us". This article is full of hatred and is entitled characteristically: *„Die Juden sind schuld"* ("The Jews are guilty") and it clearly foretells the extirpation of the Jews.

Articles in the newspapers published for the German police emphasize the thesis that "the Russian Jews are a poison which may be got rid of only by destruction" (Cited after *Hitler's Ten Years' War*, p. 289), and declare that the aim of this war is *„das judenfreie Europa* (a Jew-free Europe") (*Mitteilungsblätter für die weltanschauliche Schulung der Ordnungspolizei*, Hg. v. Chef der Ordnungspolizei Gruppe: *Weltanschauliche Erziehung*, 1. Dezember 1941 Gruppe A. Folge 27. Nur für den Gebrauch innerhalb der Ordnungspolizei".)

But although in the summer of 1941 the declarations of the leaders of National Socialism announce only the coming annihilation of the Russian Jews, already at the end of 1941 a systematic campaign for the extirpation of the Jews was initiated far in the rear of the Eastern Front, extended later to the General Gouvernement, and finally to the area incorporated in the Reich — the so-called *Warthegau*.

In a speech delivered at the end of the year 1941 Governor-General Frank laid his cards before his closest collaborators, when announcing a big conference to be held in Berlin in January, 1942, under the chairmanship of the Chief of the Central Security Office of the Reich *(R. S. H. A.)* Heydrich, during which important decisions concerning the Jewish problem were to be taken. Frank indeed anticipated them: „What are we to do with the Jews? Do you think that we shall settle them in the Ostland?... Why all this prattle? We have nothing to do with them, either in the Ostland (the Baltic provinces) or in the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. In short, liquidate them by your own means... We must take steps to extirpate them... The General Gouvernement must be as free from Jews

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as is the Reich". (Doc. No. 2233, Frank, *Diary. C. V.* 1941. *Oct. to Dec. p. 76—777).*

Frank, one of Hitler's most intimate advisers, showed himself no false prophet. The Berlin Conference gave results quite in accordance with his forecast. In April, 1942, Himmler issued an order concerning the "final solution of the Jewish problem" *(Endlösung der Judenfrage)*. Only such Jews were to be left alive as were able to work, and these were to be concentrated in camps. This order was extended to all countries under German occupation, and minister Goebbels expressed the hope that the extirpation *(Ausrottung)* would spread not only over the whole of Europe but even to countries outside *"In Europa und vielleicht weit darüber hinaus..."* (Article in *Das Reich* of June 14, 1942.)

With their characteristic efficiency the Germans began to realize their plan of destruction.

In the summer and autumn of 1941 the main blow was struck, at the Jews living in the territories newly conquered from Soviet Russia. The second blow, in the winter of 1941, fell upon those Jews living in the lands incorporated in the Reich *(Warthegau and Ostpreussen)*; and the third, in the first months of 1942, struck those who remained in the General Gouvernement.

The advance of the German Army into the territory of the U. S. S. R. was accompanied by a series of bloody actions against the Jews. They differ from the planless pogroms of 1939 in that they now were systematically organized. The number of victims in the larger cities amounted to thousands; in the smaller towns all the Jews were "liquidated" at once. The worst terror reigned in the districts of Wilno and Bialystok. The Jewish population of Wilno (65,000) paid a heavy tribute in blood, action against them lasting without interruption from June 22 to Sep. 5 (the date of the establishment of the ghetto). Afterwards it was renewed in the middle of October and went on until Christmas Eve.

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The Germans pretended that they took the Jewish male population for labour, and drove them to a small wayside halt called Ponary 10 km from Wilno on the railway from Wilno to Landwarowo. There they were shot in masses and buried in the ditches dug to contain petrol by the Red Army. From October, the time of the "Cleaning" in the ghetto, onwards women and children were also brought to be killed. This monstrous mass action, which lasted half a year, accounted in the first period after the establishment of the ghetto for the deaths of about 30,000 Jewish victims; and in the second period for those of more than 15,000. (G. Jaszunski, *Dos Naje Lebn* Nr. 6, M. Balberyszki, *Dos Naje Lebn* Nr. 9, Sz. Kaczerginski: "Ponary", *Archives of the Central Jewish Historical Committee. Records* from Wilno.)

The 56,000 Jews in Bialystok were also attacked. Immediately after the advance of the Germans about 1000 were burnt in a large synagogue; on July 2 about 300 representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia were murdered; and on July 11 about 4000 Jews were taken outside the city and shot on the so-called Pietrasza (S. Datner: *Fight and Destruction of the Jews at Bialystok).*

In the summer of 1942 in several parts of the region of Bialystok, at Szczuczyn, Grajewo, Tykocin and Wasilkow, the Jewish population were massacred, as they were likewise in the smaller towns of White Russia.

At Sluck, for example, the Commander of the XIth Battalion of the Security Police carried out mass murders on two successive days at the end of October 1941. Jews were shot in houses and in the streets, and their corpses left lying where they fell. The Commander of the battalion refused the request of one of the Commissars of the District to delay these activities for one day, ostensibly because he was instructed to commit these murders in all the towns of the District and therefore was in a great hurry. About 9,000 Jews perished at Slonim.

At Lwow, which had a population of about 150,000 Jews during the first three months after the German invasion, three pogroms were carried out between June 30 and July 3, July 25 and 27, and finally again at the end of the month. Each outbreak ended with the murder of several thousands of Jews. (Dr F. Friedman: *The Destruction of the Jews in Lwow*, p. 6—8). In other towns of the province of Galicia similar outrages took place; for instance at Kolomyja, where 3,400 Jews were shot in Szczepanow wood; at Drohobycz and Boryslaw, at Kamionka Strumilowa, Zloczow and Stanislawow. Hungarian troops who were quartered in this last town did not persecute the Jews; the first outrage was after the entrance of the Germans on Nov. 12, 1941. (Centr. Arch. J. H. C. Prot. No. 545, 515, 679, 1068, 1162, 801).

In Volhynia there was much bloodshed at Rowne, where some 16,000 out of 25,000 Jews were done to death on Nov. 5 and 6, 1941 *(Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 1190, *Black Book*, p. 113).

During the winter months of 1941 and 1942 fresh measures were directed against the Jews in the area incorporated in the Reich. Their numbers had already, by the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940, fallen from 680,000 to 240,000 as a result of the intensified policy of expulsion with all its attendant brutality, which, indeed, at Kalisz and Bedzin, in the towns of Silesia, and at Wloclawek, (see*Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 375) passed over into outright massacres (Bydgoszcz, Kalisz etc. *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 559).

The second phase of the so-called *Judenreinigung* (cleaning up of Jews) began in this area in the winter of 1941—1942. In contrast to their behaviour in the East, the Germans refrained from mass shootings and carried out their murders in a more discreet way. The first object of their fury was the Jewish population which still remained in the province of Lodz. A special extermination camp for Jews was established at Chelmno near Kolo, and started working on Dec. 8, 1941.

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when the first transport of Jews from Debie, Sepolno and Kolo arrived. Other transports followed from Turek, Poddebica, Wlodawa, Belchatowo, Pabianice and elsewhere. The ghetto of Lodz too was to pay its tribute of blood (Jan. 15, 1942, and Apr. 29, 1942). The Germans killed their victims by gassing them in specially constructed wagons. The camp at Chelmno was not the first scene of this kind of activity on Polish soil. It was about Sep. 15, 1941, that the first experiment in wholesale murder by gas was carried out with success in the concentration camp at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) in Silesia, when a group of Russian prisoners-of-war and another of Polish political prisoners were "liquidated". It is not known when the first transports of Polish Jews were similarly treated there.

It was in February and March, 1942, that large-scale "liquidations" of this kind were first practised in the area of the General Gouvernement. Previous cases there had been rather in the nature of courses of training as for instance at Rejowiec, in the province of Lublin, at Easter, 1941, (*Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 89) in Dabrowa near Tarnow in July 1941 (rep. 1209); at Wegrow on Doomsday (Prot. No. 38); small-scale activities at Radom in October (Prot. No. 28); again at Radom and several small-scale activities at Lwow, on Dec. 3, (Dr. F. Friedman: *The Destruction of the Jews at Lwow* p. 13.)

The proceedings at Mielec were particularly dramatic. Preparations for "expulsion" had begun in January 1942, as the official correspondence of the German authorities shows (*Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* — Records of Mielec). On Mar. 7—9 a very cruel expulsion of the Jews from Mielec began. Some were shot in the town or on the airfield and about 4,500 were taken to different localities in the province of Lublin (*Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* — Records of Mielec and Prot. No. 217).

The months of March and April abound in shootings and expulsions (Rzeszow: *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 678; Brzesko: Prot. No. 611; Zamosc Records *J. U. S.*; Krasnik; Prot. 275; Sanniki *Records of the Centr. Arch. J. H. C.*; Kielce;

Prot. 65, 64 — a and 67; liquidations at Wloclawek; Prot. 375; Lwow, Lublin, Ostrowiec, Lodz, Nowy Sacz and elsewhere). It is noteworthy that proceedings were taken against leaders and members of the Jewish Radical political groups in several localities almost at the same time, in April 1942 (for instance at Warsaw, Nowy Sacz, Prot. No. 1203; Ostrowiec, Prot. No. 270 and 146; Rzeszow, Prot. No. 678).

The massacre of 15,000 persons at Lwow finished just before the Jewish festival of the Passover. One of the bloodiest and most cruel episodes of this period was the massacre at Lublin, which began on the night of Mar. 16/17, 1942, and lasted till April 20. The Jewish colony there was almost wiped out; about 2,500 to 3,000 Jews being killed and 35,000 being taken to the concentration camps at Belzec and Trawniki, while some were sent to the region of Poltawa and Krivoj Rog (U. S. S. R.). The remainder about 3,000 in number, were taken to Majdan Tatarski, where in primitive and shabby buildings they too were soon killed. (*Memories of Ida Glückstein* p. 11 *Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. 6. evidence of S. Turteltaub, *Bl. Book*, p. 95).

The requirements of mass murder inspired the idea of establishing special plants which were to serve Eastern Poland, as the camps of Chelmno and Oswiecim on the left bank of the Vistula served Western Poland. So the labour camp at Belzec and the concentration camp for prisoner-of war at Majdanek near Lublin were transformed into extermination camps. The larger transports of Jews from Lublin and Lwow were directed to Belzec, while smaller ones were taken to Majdanek (for instance from the town of Belzyce in May 1942). An extermination camp with gas-chambers was also established at Sobibor (first victims sent from Siedliszcze).

These spring activities, however, were merely introductory. The wave of extermination activities grew more and more threatening. "Liquidation", more innocently termed "expulsion", was applied systematically and gradually in every

Jewish centre. On May 12, 1943, the authorities of the province of Lublin sent out a secret circular letter to the local administrative authorities *(Starosta powiatowy)* to prepare for the expulsion of the Jews *(Centr. Arch.* — Records of Lublin) Undoubtedly similar circulars were issued by the government authorities of other districts.

The summer of 1942 witnessed a series of expulsions in Silesia (at Jaworzno, Sosnowiec, Dabrowa Gornicza, and Bielsko); in the General Gouvernement (at Belzyce, Zolkiewka, Siedliszcze, Rabka, Cracow, Tarnow, Radom, Rzeszow, Mielec, and Debica), in Galicia (Lwow, Przemysl and Tarnopol), in White Russia (Slonim) and in Volhynia (Rowne). In some localities the Jews offered resistance (Rowno, Slonim), in reprisal for which their houses were burnt down. (Prot. No. 1190, 141). At Przemysl no less than 12,000 Jews were done to death *(Centr. Arch. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 676, 691).

The culminating point was reached in August, September and October 1942. The destruction of the ghetto at Warsaw overshadows this whole period, going on, as it did, for two-and-a-half months. It began on the Eve of the Jewish Fast-Day, July 22, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple and lasted till Oct. 3. According to the official report of the SS-Brigadenführer Stroop, 310, 322 Jews were killed. Probably the number of victims was even greater. The massacre was carried out with exceptional cruelty.

At the same time the task of "liquidating" the Jews at Lwow was taken in hand. Between August 10 and 22 some 40 or 50 thousand were slaughtered. And during this same month of August about 60,000 Jews were murdered in the Dabrowa coal-mining area.

At Radom about 20,000 Jews, including members of the Jewish Council, perished in a massacre on Aug. 16; at Miedzyrzec about 10,000 (Aug. 28); at Piotrkow some 15 thousand; and at Kolomyja the whole Jewish population of the town and surrounding country. A series of mass murders was carried

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out also in the vicinity of Warsaw (at Otwock, Falenica, Rembertow), at Cracow, Lancut, Rabka, Rymanow, Rzeszów, Drohobycz, Borysław, Kielce, Szydłowiec, Nowy Sacz, Wieliczka, Wolbrom, Lodz, Stanislawow, Buczacz, Brzezany, Brody, Sokal, Borszczow, Kopyczynce, Skole, Zbaraz, Belżyce, and Dolina.

As the existing extermination camps could no longer cope with the number of destined victims, a new one was opened at Treblinka B, near the railway station of Malkinia, at the time of the Warsaw massacres.

It is impossible to say how many persons altogether lost their lives in the large-scale executions which marked the autumn of 1942. According to a report by SS Brigadenführer Katzman, in Galicia up to Nov. 10, 1942, 254, 989 Jews were expelled; about 50% of the whole Jewish population. In other sections of the General Gouvernement the numbers were much larger, amounting probably to 70 or 80% of the Jewish population. It was much the same in the area incorporated in the Reich, where except for small communities only the two ghettoes at Lodz and Bialystok were left.

On Oct. 28 and Nov. 10, 1942, regulations were issued establishing 54 ghettoes in the area of the General Gouvernement, of which 31 were in Galicia. But by this time the majority of the Jewish population were already dead, and those who remained were well aware that the end of their lives was rapidly approaching.

In the winter of 1942/43 activity lessened. One of the greatest massacres of this period was that of the Jews at Pinsk, which lasted for four days (Oct. 28 — Nov. 1) and accounted for about 16,000 persons[1]).

At the same time the province of Bialystok was "cleansed", only two ghettoes being left, at Bialystok and at Jasinowka: about 130,000 people perished.

[1]) Record of 15 Reg. German policy, published by Ilia Erenburg in the collection: The Slayers, Moscow 1944, p. 7—10.

Two pogroms (of Nov. 18—20, 1942, and Jan. 5—7, 1943) reduced the population of the ghetto at Lwow by more than 20,000 (Dr. F. Friedman: *The Destruction of the Jews at Lwow* p. 23).

During the pogrom of Jan. 18, 1943, the Germans combed out *(auskämmen)* 6,500 more persons at Warsaw. In a great pogrom at Bialystok on Feb. 1943, 11,000 persons were killed and 12,000 were "expelled" — to the death-camp at Treblinka.

The Jewish population of Galicia was rapidly disappearing, in incessant small "incidents". The camp at Belzec was no longer able to cope with the mass of "material" sent for "liquidation".

Accordingly a camp was opened at Janow near Lwow for those expelled from the ghettoes of Galicia. At the beginning of March Governor-General Frank stated with satisfaction that in the whole of the General Gouvernement there were perhaps about 100,000 Jews left[1]).

It seems however, that the calculations of the Governor General were a little too low. Warsaw had still about 60,000 Jews, Lwow 20,000, and Galicia about 100,000. There still remained small numbers of Jews in several other towns of the General Gouvernement, such as Czestochowa (in the labour camp "Hasag" and other camps) at Skarzysko, Radom, Cracow and Plaszow. Probably the number of Jews in the General Gouvernement at that time might have been estimated at between 1 and 2 hundred thousand.

There were also more than 100,000 still left in the incorporated area, about 70,000 of whom were at Lodz, and the remainder at Bialystok and in the towns of the Warthegau.

During 1943 and 1944 the Germans began the liquidation of the remaining 250,000 Jews. In 1943 the heroic defence of the Warsaw ghetto began on Apr. 19, 1943, and ended with

[1]) Frank Diary. Nuremberg Trial, Doc. 2233. Vol.: 1. I to 28. II. page 5.

the symbolical blowing up by the Germans of the Main Synagogue in Tlomackie on May 16. In this uneven struggle some 50 or 60 thousand Jews perished[1]).

Resistance in the ghetto at Bialystok was overcome, after another unequal struggle, on Aug. 16, 1943; and at Lwow during the first days of June, 1943, about 20,000 Jews were killed.

By 1944 there was only one ghetto left in Poland, namely that at Lodz with its 70,000 inhabitants; and this was now "liquidated", its population being dispatched in successive transports to Oswiecim. In August 1944, when the front was approaching Lodz, more than 60,000 persons were sent to Oswiecim in one huge transport (Aug. 2—30), so that at Lodz there remained only the so-called *Aufräumungskommando*, consisting of 870 persons.

*

The destruction of all the ghettoes in Poland and the expulsion of their inhabitants still did not bring that complete "solution of the Jewish problem" desired by Himmler. There still remained a few Polish Jews in various camps, since young men and women able to work were—for the moment—kept alive.

Those thus selected were sent to labour camps. Not that their death sentence was cancelled; it was only postponed. They were exploited to the utmost limit of their endurance, with stern and severe discipline and very bad housing, sanitary and food conditions. All this as well as the variety of tortures employed, both physical and moral, is exemplified in the account of the almost incredible conditions of work at Oswiecim and Janow. Conditions of work in the munition factories at Skarzysko were likewise dreadful, and the mor-

[1]) According to the report by Brigadenführer Stroop, who had directed this action, the blowing up of the synagogue marked the end of the action. In fact the mopping-up operations in the ghetto continued for some weeks.

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tality in these camps was frightful. Notwithstanding this high "natural" death-rate, however, and in order to quicken the tempo of destruction, the Germans from time to time arranged roll-calls, and selections of Jews for unannounced execution.

During the German occupation the whole of Poland was dotted with camps, some for prisoners-of-war and some containing workers in local factories, coal-mines, foundries, landed estates and farms, taken over by the SS. (the so called *SS Liegenschaften);* in these the percentage of Jews was very small.

More detailed information has now been collected concerning the 30 forced-labour camps for Jews. The first of this type were already established in the year 1939, but they usually only existed for a short time. They were often closed down after 1—2 years of existence, after they had served their purpose in the damming of rivers, the construction of fortifications, or the building of roads, and at the same time completely ruined the health and lives of the majority of the workers in them. It was only rarely that the latter survived till the time came for their release e. g. at "Hasag"[1]) near Czestochowa, *Aufräumungskommando* at 16 St. James's St., Lodz, or at Plaszow near Cracow.

As the anti-Jewish policy became more strict, some of the labour camps were transformed into concentration camps (e. g. Janow camp near Lwow; Plaszow near Cracow; Poniatow and Trawniki in the province of Lublin; or Szebnie near Jaslo). The Jews working in these camps were not treated as workers but as "work-prisoners" (see the report of the SS Brigadenführer Katzman to the Chief of the SS and Security Police in the G. G.).

Hundreds and thousands of Polish Jews passed through camps of this type in their march to martyrdom and death; the

[1]) Hugo Schneider Aktiengesellschaft

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relatively low number of individual camps being explained by the fact that an enormous number of human beings perished in each of them. Thus at the Janow camp near Lwow the number of inmates rarely exceeded 20,000 and sometimes fell as low as 8,000 (for example, on March. 1, 1943, it contained about 15,000 Jews, on June 26 only about 8,000). Yet a total of some 200,000 people perished in this camp. Indeed a much larger number of Jews even than this passed through the camp, including the many murdered in the wood of Lesieniec near Lwow, and those deported for execution to Belzec. The Janow camp thus served as a transit camp, or so-called Dulag *(Durchgangslager).* On June 27, 1943, after the final liquidation of all the ghettoes in Galicia, there were still 20 camps, in which were 21,156 Jews. (Report of the SS Brigadenführer Katzman to the Chief of the SS and Security Police in GG. Krüger). "But" — adds Katzman — "this number is constantly diminishing". The best known of these camps were at Janow, Kurowice, Jaktorow, Lackie, Kozaki, Drohobycz, and Boryslaw.

The province of Cracow also had a number of concentration camps, the best known of which were at Plaszow near Cracow, and in the district of Szebnie near Jaslo: in both of these about 20,000 Jews, mainly from Cracow, perished. Things were similar in Malopolska, at Pustkow near Debica, at Rozwadow and at Stalowa Wola, where in each case several thousand Jews perished.

In central Poland the greatest number of camps of this type existed in Trawniki in the province of Lublin and at Poniatow near Pulawy; in every one from 15 to 20,000 Jews perished. In the North there was another, at Stutthof near Gdańsk; from 110,000 persons who passed through this camp 40.000 were Jews from different countries of Europe; Polish and Lithuanian being in the majority. It should be mentioned that before the evacuation of Stutthof the Germans drove several thousand Jews (men and women) into the sea, where

they were drowned or killed by machine-gun fire. (*Archives of the Centr. J. H. C.* Prot. No. 381. Diary of Aldo Coradello, Reminiscenses of L. Szeftel, late prisoner at Stutthof).

But all these figures amount to nothing in comparison with the frightful number of victims who were devoured by the "extermination camps".

This last type of camp was organized on Polish territory during the time when mass exterminations were intensified, as the Germans could not accomplish their criminal purpose with the existing means of destruction alone.

Several large concentration camps in Poland, such as Oswiecim and Majdanek, had been used for killing the Jewish population since 1940; but now special new camps were added.

The camp at Oswiecim was enlarged in 1942 and 1943 and adapted for mass murder, large gas-chambers and crematoria being erected. The numerous transports of Jews arriving there were almost all directed to the gas-chambers; only a small number of persons being selected for the labour camp. But even of these only a small percentage was left alive by the end of war; about 5,000 Jews.

Besides Polish Jews there perished at Oswiecim hundreds of thousands of Jews from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, Greece, Belgium, France and other countries.

The total number of victims executed at the second large concentration camp, at Majdanek near Lublin, is estimated at between 1½ and 2 millions, of whom the Jews constituted a very large percentage. In both camps (Oswiecim and Majdanek) the majority of Jewish prisoners were exterminated in gas-chambers by the use of the very effective "Cyclon B."

In the concentration camps at Grossrosen in Silesia in which 100,000 persons perished, the number of Jewish prisoner was small.

The extermination camps destined almost exclusively for Jews were those at Treblinka (called Treblinka B), Chelmno, Belzec and Sobibor.

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At Treblinka, in the vicinity of the district Sokolow Podlaski province of Warsaw, between July 22, 1942, and the early autumn of 1943 from 760,000 to a million persons were killed, almost exclusively Jews.

The camp at Chelmno, a village 14 km from Kolo on the railway from Lodz to Poznan, continued working till January 1945, when it had destroyed about 350,000 Jewish victims, in special motor-trucks, fitted up with gas- chambers.

The camp at Belzec near Rawa Ruska, established at the beginning of 1940 as a labour camp, was developed into an extermination camp in 1942. Between the spring of 1942 and that of 1943 several hundred thousand Jews, mainly from Galicia and the Lublin and Cracow province were murdered there. Transports also came from the districts of Radom and Warsaw. At the extermination camp at Sobibor, near Chelm in the Lublin area, which was established in the spring of 1942, hundreds of thousands more were killed, chiefly in gas-chambers. Here too, a certain number of Jews from France, Holland, the U.S.S.R., and Czechoslovakia perished in addition to those from Poland[1]). On Oct. 14, 1943, a revolt was organised at Sobibor.

After killing about 20 SS-men several hundred prisoners escaped, but the majority were killed by the bullets of the camp guards and by mines which had been laid in the fields all round the camp.

It must be borne in mind that the above mentioned concentration camps were not the only places of extermination of Polish Jews. In the vicinity of every large centre of Jewish life in Poland temporary places of execution were to be found, in which thousands and tens of thousands of victims per-

[1]) It was stated at the judicial enquiry into German crimes committed in the extermination camps of Belzec and Sobibor, that from these death camps only a few persons escaped. It is therefore a matter of serious difficulty correctly to calculate the number of victims, as the German autorities tried their best to wipe out all vestiges of their crimes.

ished daily; e. g. Ponary near Wilno, Lesieniec near Lwow, Pietrasza near Bialystok, Radogoszcz near Lodz, or Rakowice wood near Cracow.

Besides the better known camps, mentioned above, there were places of mass murder by gas which remained unknown until quite recently; e. g. Kazimierz wood (near Kazimierz Biskupi, 40 km from Chelmno) where the Germans had used gas wagons as early as Sep. 1941; or the so-called "Gesiowka" in Warsaw, i. e. the Jewish prison in Zamenhof Street, where crematorium installations have recently been discovered.

V. General conclusions

I. How many Jews perished and how many were left alive?

The final "solution of the Jewish problem" in Poland ordered by the Nazi leaders was accomplished almost in its entirety. This is proved by the following statistical data:

The number of Jews in Poland on Sep. 1, 1939, amounted to about 3,474,000. How many of them are still alive?

The Central Committee of Polish Jews which was organized at Lublin in August, 1944, ordered a registration of the Jews who survived. This registration was carried out by the Jewish Local Committees in different towns and gave the following results:

Up to June 15, 1945, it was found that *55,509* Jews had registered themselves in Poland. To this number must be added 5,446 registered Polish Jews still in camps in Germany, and 13,000 Jews on active service in the Polish Army, together 73,955 persons.

These statistics, do not however, enable us to determine how many Jews were finally saved from destruction during the German occupation. For this a critical analysis and explanation are required.

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The number 55,509 must be reduced, as there were numerous mistakes in registration, caused by the fluctuation and internal migration of Jews in the first months after their recovery of freedom, the same persons being registered twice, or even several times, in different towns through which they passed. How many, it is impossible to check. Moreover, a certain number out of the 55,509 had returned from Soviet Russia.

The number of 13,000 officers and men of the Polish Army does not include such as were saved in German- occupied territory, but is made up for the most part of Jews who were in the U.S.S.R. during the war and voluntarily enlisted in the Polish Army which was organised there.

But the number of 5,446 given for Jews still in camps in Germany is not final, as only an insignificant proportion of the Jews in these camps have sent in their data to be registered by the Central Committee of Polish Jews or to any Local Committee.

Later migratory movements after June 15, 1945, and territorial changes affecting Jews who were living in Poland and Germany are not taken into account, as they are not essential to the problem under discussion.

Of the 40,000—50,000 Polish Jews who are still alive in Poland, about 5,000 are children. (Data of the Chief of the Section of the Children's Assistance, Dr S. Herszerhorn, quoted from the *Bulletin of the J.A.P.* of Nov. 12, No 99/109). This is a maximum number and includes those who returned from Western Ukraine, Western White Russia and the Lithuanian Soviet Republic.

It must be borne in mind, however, that a certain number of Jews were saved by escaping abroad in 1939 (mainly to the U.S.S.R.); while in 1941, after the German invasion of Russia, some of the Polish Jews living in the U.S.S.R. saved themselves by fleeing into the interior. Altogether about 250,000 Polish Jews from various European and extra-European

countries were saved (U.S.S.R., England, Sweden, Switzerland, Roumania, Hungary; Palestine, and the U.S.A.).

From the above it may be deduced that in German-occupied Poland the Jewish population amounted to about 3,200,000 or 3,250,000 persons. Of this number at the end of war only 40,000—50,000 remained alive.

In the territories occupied by the German armies only 1.3% or 1.6% of Jews were saved.

As compared with the pre-war total, the losses of the Jews in Poland amount therefore to 98%.

2. *Different phases of extermination.*

With regard to the tempo and intensity of the exterminations during the different periods, although definite data are lacking, the following approximate estimate can be relied upon.

1. Jewish losses in the first months of the German occupation, i. e. up to the end of 1939: soldiers killed in the September Campaigh 32,000; prisoners of this campaign murdered by the Germans, 60,000; Jewish civilians killed during the fighting, or during the earliest stages of the German murder-campaign, in pogroms, about 100,000. Altogether therefore about 200,000.

2. Jewish losses during 1940 and the first six months of 1941: as the result of executions, repressions and pogroms, expulsions, forced labour, and natural deaths (deaths resulting from disease, epidemics and hunger), about 300,000.

Up to the middle of 1941, i. e. to the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, about 500,000 Jews had perished.

3. After the occupation by the German Army of Polish territories previously annexed by the U.S.S.R. there were about 2,700,000 Jews under German rule. From the numbers previously given it will be seen that by the end of February, 1943, only 10%, or 250,000, were still alive. If we add to this number the 150,000 Jews who were murdered in

January and February, 1943, we see that on Jan. 1, 1943, about 400,000 Jews were still alive. Thus for the last phase of Nazi rule in Poland (from Apr. 22, 1941, to the end of 1942) we get 2,300,000 as the number of victims of German extermination activities, disease and hunger combined.

4. In 1943 about 250—300,000 of the remaining Jews perished, this number including the rest of the Jewish communities in Warsaw, Lwow, and Bialystok; the rest of the Jews in concentration camps; Jews who had escaped to the woods; Jewish groups of partisans; and Jews living in concealment as Aryans.

5. In 1944 about 100,000 more Jews perished at the hands of the Germans. The last ghetto at Lodz was destroyed; many Jews passing as Aryans were caught, particularly during the Warsaw Rising and afterwards, and finally a certain number of Jews who had still been working in concentration camps succumbed.

Between 40,000 and 50,000 Jews were left, concealing themselves among the Poles, or using false Aryan documents, or hiding in the woods as partisans; or in some camps (Hasag near Czestochowa, and Oswiecim).

3. *How many Jews from abroad perished in Poland?*

Besides Polish Jews, the Germans murdered a great number of Jews from abroad on Polish territory. According to information published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York, of a total of 9,612,000 European Jews 5,787,000 perished during the Nazi occupation.

Of this number more then half (13,200,000) were Polish Jews. Of the second half about 1,000,000 perished in Poland, and the remainder in the Soviet Union, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugoslavia, or Greece.

The million foreign Jews killed by the Germans in Poland are made up of about 3—4 hundred thousand from Hungary,

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2 hundred thousand from Czechoslovakia, 1 hundred thousand from Germany, and the rest from Austria, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Luxemburg, and Denmark, in numbers varying from a few hundreds to several thousands.

Jews from abroad were sent to Poland by the Germans as early as the end of 1939 (from Czechoslovakia and Austria), ostensibly for colonization, or for work on fortifications. Further transports during the years 1940—1941 were mainly sent to the small towns of the district of Lublin and to the ghettoes of Warsaw and Lodz. Owing to dreadful housing conditions and bad food, great misery and hard work, these Jews died in large numbers. In the year 1942 it was noticed that the deportations to Poland of Jews from West and Central Europe were intensified, but now they were not deported for work, but sent straight to extermination camps to be instantly killed.

The Jews from Greece and Hungary were the last to be exterminated. Mass deportations and executions of Hungarian Jews were not begun until the Summer of 1944; but owing to their specially cruel character they stood out even among the German extermination activities of that time.

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The murder of several millions of Jews in Poland is a crime distinguished from the many other German crimes committed during the second world war both by its wholesale character and by the criminal manner of its execution. We are faced with a crime to which, strictly speaking, all those European peoples who were not "Aryan" according to Nazi doctrine should have fallen victims. The ashes of millions of people in Polish soil prove that German National Socialism realized to a great extent its declared aim of destroying the European Jews. If the Germans could not completely wipe out the Jews from Europe, it was solely due to the fact that they lost the war before they had time to carry out their extirpation plans to the end.

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We are faced with a crime executed by the agents of the Nazi rulers according to a strictly conceived plan in which an active part was taken not only by the Gestapo, SS and gendarmes, but also by the German military authorities, with whom were linked up not only the political party, but also the German railway workers, and German industry.

The vast majority of Germans who were living in Poland during the war knew perfectly well about these crimes, and the extermination of millions of Jews. All these Germans adopted at best a completely passive attitude towards them. Many Germans in the Reich who profited by Jewish plunder did the same.

The destruction of the Jews in Poland was only the first attempt of the Nazis to find a specific radical solution of the problems facing German imperialist policy.

The fate of the Soviet prisoners-of-war and that of the hundreds of thousands of victims from among the Russian and Polish civilian population murdered by the German authorities eloquently proves this truth.

The Jews were the first of a series of victims. The attempt did not succeed; but undoubtedly the Poles and Russians were next on the list of candidates for mass extermination, representing elements ethnically obnoxious from the point of view of German expansion in the East.

Deliberately setting aside all basic principles of good and evil, of right and wrong, profiting from the indifference and apathy of the German population, and applying terroristic methods in the occupied countries, the Nazis could, had military events taken another turn, have murdered still more millions of people in Poland and Russia „for the good of the German nation and the New Order in Europe".

The annihilation of the Jews on Polish soil is an eloquent proof of the German intention to go on until they had achieved the realisation of this plan.

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THE PUBLIC EXECUTIONS AT WARSAW

VI

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From the moment of the occupation of Warsaw by the Germans in 1939 the capital of Poland became the object of special opression by the occupying authorities. The Germans fully realised the attachment of the Poles to liberty and the will to resist of the largest agglomeration of people in Poland (about 1,300,000 inhabitants at the time of the outbreak of war).

So from the very first weeks of their stay in Poland, the Germans took consistent steps to paralyse all such factors as might become centres of resistance against the occupation. The winter months of 1939—1940 gave Warsaw immediate and painful evidence that the Germans were striking consistently and brutally, though most often blindly, with two general aims in view viz:

1. to paralyse active social centres by the removal of prominent individuals;
2. to kill the greatest possible number of Poles, for in their opinion every Pole was a potential enemy of the Third Reich.

The fighting for Warsaw had hardly ended, and the traces of the siege were not yet removed, when a long series of arrests marked the beginning of preventive terrorism, and these were continually repeated during the years that followed and formed an integral part of the occupation programme.

During the first months of the occupation, hundreds of prewar Polish political, professional, and economic workers, the most prominent citizens of Warsaw and representative professional men were arrested and perished in the Diet Garden. The executions were carried out by the Germans in the greatest secrecy, all traces of them being carefully blotted out, but in spite of that, after every murder, lists of names of the

victims were circulated in secret among the inhabitants of the city.

As by the beginning of 1940 this particular place of execution had become too well known and therefore inconvenient as well as insufficient, the Germans began transporting the condemned to a place called Palmiry near Warsaw (the Kampinos Forest), and during the next two years (1940—42) they carried out dozens of collective executions there. Among those executed at Palmiry were Niedziałkowski, the eminent leader of the Polish Socialist Party; Rataj, one of the leaders of the Polish Peasant Party and former Marshal of the Polish Diet; prof. Stefan Kopeć and prof. Kazimierz Zakrzewski, both of the University of Warsaw, and Kusocinski, the famous Olympic sportsman. The exhumation of the bodies of thousands of former Warsaw prisoners, murdered and buried in the collective graves of Palmiry, is now (1946) being carried out.

Besides the continual arrests at Warsaw, the year 1940 brought two new examples of Nazi terrorism. The first part of the year brought the great man-hunts, when young men who evaded "labour-duty" were rounded up. Thousands of young men between the ages of 16 and 25 were seized at random in the streets and transported to factories and farms in Germany as slave-workers. In the second part of the year about 4,500 men, detained at random after two big man-hunts, or taken straight from their homes, were immediately transferred to the concentration camp at Oswiecim. In 1941 the reign of terror continued unabated. Each new method of terrorism was constantly repeated, and besides arrests and executions there were constant man-hunts, designed to furnish labour for German war-industry and to fill up the gaps due to the high rate of mortality in the concentration camps.

The Russian campaign was responsible for the introduction of certain changes in German propaganda tactics. Efforts were made, unsuccessfully, to win over Polish opinion, and

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it was proposed that Germans and Poles should fight together against Soviet Russia; but brutality was so deeply rooted in the Nazi character that in face of the dictates of common sense and policy, even after such propaganda, atrocities of all kinds were carried out.

In 1942 in addition to the Diet grounds and Palmiry, new sites were converted into places of execution for the inhabitants of Warsaw; namely the Kabackie and Piaseczynskie forests, both in the vicinity of the city.

In a large pre-war gaol at Warsaw (the "Pawiak") the Gestapo constantly kept over two thousand political prisoners, including hundreds of women. The prisoners changed very quickly, the condemned being executed and their places taken by new-comers, who, in turn, soon shared their fate; discharges were very rare.

In April, 1943, the Germans began the final "liquidation" of some thirty-five thousand Jewish survivors in Warsaw. As reprisal for the armed resistance of the Jews, the Germans destroyed the entire Jewish district (separated from the rest of the city by a high brick wall), using aircraft and artillery. Many women and children perished in their homes during the systematic burning of the houses. Men caught were shot by the Germans wholesale in the blazing streets. The survivors were sent to the gas-chambers of an extermination camp *(Vernichtungslager)* at Treblinka.

On the devastated site of the ghetto there remained only a building, the so called "Pawiak", a prison for Poles. The complete isolation of this building from the rest of the city and the many acres of completely devastated ghetto gave the Germans favourable conditions for committing fresh crimes there. In May, 1943, the first mass-shooting of Poles, led out of the prison building, took place among the surrounding ruins. The corpses of the victims were then burnt on the spot, in order that all traces, might be blotted out, and the whole action kept strictly secret.

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The intelligence service of the Polish secret Organizations however succeeded by different hazardous means in getting into contact with some of the prisoners, particularly those engaged in administrative duties, for the most part doctors in the prison hospital, who kept themselves well informed as to what was happening. These men used to send out alarming news of the hundreds of murders being committed at Pawiak and the increasing number of victims daily.

A typical report would run as follows:

"(May 31, 1943). On May 29, 25 women and 550 men were led out of prison and shot in the ruins of the ghetto. The execution (machine guns being used) lasted from 8 a. m. to 1 p. m. We heard these shots quite clearly from the prison."

or:

"(June 3, 1943). 42 men and 9 women were shot to-day. Among them one woman in the ninth month of pregnancy."

These tragic reports came in several times a week for some months. The tension in Warsaw increased. In accordance with sentences passed by the Polish Conspiracy Court of the Underground Organization Headquarters several particularly notorius Gestapo-men and secret agents were shot. Inscriptions then appeared on walls announcing vengeance on the Germans for these murders.

In the meantime the Germans were preparing a new blow at the people of Warsaw, the worst hitherto. A proclamation was issued on Oct. 2, 1943 (coming into force on Oct. 10, 1943); this proclaimed the consequences of any attempt to interfere with German "reconstruction" work in the GG. and was signed by Governor-General Hans Frank. (Regulation concerning the combating of the attacks on the German Reconstruction Work in the GG. *Verordnung zur Bekämpfung von Angriffen gegen das Deutsche Aufbauwerk im Gener. Gouvernement).*

According to Para. 1 of this proclamation, all those who disobeyed the lawful regulations and orders of the authorities, thereby intentionally holding up or hindering the German

reconstruction work in the General Gouvernement, would be punished by death. In Para. 2, it was declared that the ringleaders and their abettors would be subject to the death penalty like the actual perpetrators, and even unsuccessful attempts would be treated as capital offences. In Para. 3 the necessity was announced for the proclamation of Martial Law by the Security Police *(Sicherheitspolizei);* and finally (Par. 6) it was stated that sentences passed for such crimes would be immediately executed.

An addition to the above decree was proclaimed through loud speakers in the streets of Warsaw, affirming briefly that "a German policeman has the right to shoot anyone in the street who appears suspicious to him".

Within three days of the publication of this decree, manhunts were undertaken in the streets of Warsaw on a far larger scale than before. Since 1940 the population had been accustomed to this most frequent form of terrorism.

Hitherto the aim of the man-hunts had been mainly to secure a contingent of slave-labour for export to Germany, though sometimes a certain number of those arrested were sent to concentration camps. Action recommenced on October 13, 1943, in many parts of the city; but it differed from previous such activity in as much as far more Germans were employed in the work, and the ruthlessnes and brutality shown was far greater. Taking part voluntarily in these man-hunts, along with the Gestapo, the SS and the German police, were detachments of the Army *(Wehrmacht)* and of the Air-Force *(Luftwaffe),* and also groups of Hitler Youths *(Hitlerjugend).* Where the traffic was great German police trucks drove up unexpectedly, blocked a considerable length of street, and arrested all men who happened to pass, as well as those in motor cars, tramcars and shops. Those detained were placed with their faces towards the wall and their hands up, and then after being searched were loaded into police lorries. The younger men and boys were loaded into the police lorries

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immediately without being searched or having their papers examined. Those who tried to escape, and even those who did not stop or put up their hands quickly enough when ordered, were shot on the spot. In the first week of the man-hunts 27 bodies were brought to the mortuary. During this random shooting many women were killed in the streets. The persons detained were taken immediately to the political prison and confined in separate cells in strict isolation; their names were not registered nor were their belongings taken away. Very often people caught in the streets were imprisoned without even having their documents looked at. In the narrow cells of the gaol a very large number of victims were herded together, unable to move owing to lack of space.

The real aim of this new type of man-hunt soon became evident. The Commander of the SS and the Security Police in the District of Warsaw informed the Polish population through loud-speakers that in revenge for certain recent attempts on the lives of Germans, one hundred hostages had been taken, whose names and dates of birth were appended, including several women. It was further announced that in case of any repetition of attempts on the lives of Germans or of citizens allied to the German Reich, " on that same day and in that same place" ten of the said hostages would be shot for each German killed. An appeal was then made to the Polish population to help in the finding of all persons guilty of attempts on the lives of Germans, and a promise was given that in return some of the hostages would be released. Almost immediately after this, new lists of hostages were published, and it was announced that the first public execution of twenty hostages had taken place on October 16, 1943.

Crowds gathered under the loud speakers, which in the intervals between gramophone dance music gave tragic lists of the condemned. Generally the names were those of people who had just happened to be passing by at the time of the man-hunt. This was their only crime. Among those shot were many women, youths under age, and old men. On the lists of hostages were boys of seventeen and men of sixty. Fresh executions followed nearly every day. After about a fortnight information was no longer given through the radio but red posters were stuck on posts and walls giving the names and ages of the victims shot. The excuses given for these murders were, for example, an attack on a German soldier, or the wounding of an official of the criminal Police *(Kripo-Kriminalpolizei)*. Then followed an appeal to the people to seize the authors of these attacks, or to denounce them to the German authorities. The posters stated that the hostages had been executed by order of the Security Commission *(Standesgericht der Sicherheitspolizei)*. Meanwhile reports came in from the gaols that the persons executed had been captured during man-hunts. They were kept for a few days in the cells, and generally were never examined in court, as in reality they were guilty of nothing. Reports also came in of secret mass shootings of prisoners among the ruins of the ghetto, as well as of persons brought in directly from man-hunts in the city. The number of victims killed there exceeded by far the number of those killed publicly and officially announced. The "public" executions were not really public. Although they were performed in the busiest parts of the city, often in the centre of Warsaw, the German police drew a cordon of a hundred metres' radius all round, ordered the passers by to leave, locked the shops and fired at people who looked out of the windows.

So these "public" executions took place in reality without spectators. Nevertheless a certain number of eyewitnesses observed them from different points, unseen by the Germans. — An exception was the only execution of its kind, of 27 political prisoners performed on February 11, 1944. After the condemned had been hanged on the first-floor balcony of a burnt-out house which stood on the border between the "Jewry" and the "Aryan" district, people were admitted to see their bodies. The place of execution was surrounded by

a large number of gendarmes. In the space of a few hours many thousands of Warsaw inhabitants passed by the hanging corpses in silence and bare-headed.

The routine of a public execution was usually as follows: First a strong squad of police surrounded the place of execution, and then the firing party arrived (SS or police) and took up its position. Then the condemned were brought up. At first they were brought handcuffed in pairs and blindfolded, but not gagged, so that on several occasions, just before their death, they shouted patriotic phrases, such as "Long live Poland"; after that, they had their heads tied up in sacks, or their mouths tied up with rags saturated with narcotics. Later their mouths were plastered up with plaster of Paris and their lips sealed with adhesive tape. Then, at last, in consequence of the frequent resistance of the condemned, their blood was drained from them to such an extent, that owing to weakness they could hardly stand on their feet. At the beginning the victims wore their own clothes and even their overcoats, just as they had been taken in the streets, but later on they went to their death bare-footed and in underwear; sometimes in prison overalls or in paper trousers and coats. They were shot in batches of five or ten, according to the number of the condemned. Those merely wounded were generally given a finishing blow with an SS-or Gestapo-officer's revolver-butt. After the execution, the corpses of the victims were loaded on trucks by a special column of prisoners (usually Jews) and taken to the ruins of the ghetto, where they were immediately burnt. All attempts by relatives to get back the bodies were brutally frustrated.

The following are fragments of evidence by eye-witnesses of executions. They have been thoroughly investigated by the Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland.

December 23, 1943; execution of 20 persons in Gorczewska

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street (a hospital nurse gives evidence of what she saw from a window):

"I was watching from a distance of 150 metres (165 yards): The condemned were in their underwear and handcuffed together in pairs... Over their faces they had large paper bags which came down to their shoulders. Some of them reeled; the SS-men dragged and kicked them. After the first four were shot, the officer who had given the order to fire came up to the dead, kicked them to see whether they were still alive, and then gave them a finishing shot in the head".

November 12, 1943. Execution of 25 persons at Jagiellonska Street, Praga (from the evidence of four witnesses.)

"There were 25 condemned. I saw one of them jump out of the car — he was shot by the escort... The door of the lorry opened and the gendarmes led out the prisoners in pairs, handcuffed. They were blindfolded and gagged with rags."

And after the execution:

"After the corpses had been removed a lorry from the Street Cleaning Department came up, and the blood was washed away from the street with motor-pumps."

"I went down to the place of execution and took a mask, which was lying in the blood in the gutter. The mask was saturated with something, but it was so soaked with blood and water that I could not guess what it was. I still have that mask".

Some of the reports of the witnesses were published during the occupation by the Polish Undeground Press.

November 9, 1943. Execution of seventeen men and three women in Grójecka Street:

"They were not handcuffed or blindfolded. The women were shot by an SS officer; the men by a firing squad. One of the condemned unbuttoned his coat and bared his chest to the shots. ....A German officer came up and struck him in the face" (From the underground *Agency Press* dated Nov. 17, 1943).

November 12, 1943. Execution of twenty people in Nowy Świat Street.

"The German police cleared the people not only from the streets, but also from the shops, stores and gateways.... The janitors of the houses received orders to notify the tenants not to look out of the windows. All the side-streets were surrounded by a cordon of German police with guns at the ready. After the arrival of the prisoners, the firing-party, and representatives of the German police, they placed themselves under the wall of the Savoy Hotel. The condemned were taken out of the lorry in batches of six and drawn up on the opposite side of the street in front of a burnt house. They had their hands tied behind their backs, were blindfolded, and were handcuffed together in pairs. Apparently they had a kind of gag in their mouths, so that they were unable to shout. They went to the execution place quietly and mechanically, as if under the influence of some narcotic. When the condemned were placed under the wall a volley was fired. Those hit fell to the ground, a tragic and horrible sight, writhing in pain; the sound of the death-rattle, the groans of the dying, and the sight of their sufferings were indeed awful. The German policemen approached those who still gave any signs of life, and if they had their faces upwards, they were kicked over, and then shot from behind.... After the execution was over, civilians immediately appeared with pails of water, brushes and soap powder, and hurriedly washed and cleaned up the blood, bits of flesh and brains that had splashed on to the walls. The blood was collected into pails so that no trace of the crime should be left. A few minutes later, there was only a wet wall and a wet pavement to be seen: the only signs of all that had taken place a few minutes before.

"Among those shot were a railway employee, an old bearded man and two boys of no more than fourteen or fifteen years of age."

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October 23, 1943. Execution of 25 people on the Miedzeszynski Embankment, near the Poniatowski Bridge.

"On the Miedzeszynski Embankment (which could be seen from a roof near Walecznych Street) first a group of gendarmes arrived. Through field-glasses one could distinguish the uniforms of the Gestapo and the SS-men, and also some civilians. They walked up and down along the river bank. Then an open gray-green police lorry drove up. Just behind the driver on a high stand a machine-gun was mounted. Just behind him too was a military policeman in a long white fur coat, — the executioner. The lorry, swaying on the uneven ground, came up to the very bank of the Vistula, where it stopped. The military policeman got out, only the man in the fur coat remaining inside; but there were already other vehicles coming: a police car, two lorries, again a police car, and a motor bicycle. There were people in the lorries in civilian clothes: men, two women and a little boy. Two or three of the men wore prison clothes. Others wore overcoats. Two of them had portfolios or parcels. The gendarmes surrounded the lorry and ordered the people to get out, striking them at the same time with the butt-ends of their rifles. The people got down from the lorry, huddled together. They were surrounded by a group of gendarmes. Shouts were heard. Then the civilians and gendarmes could be seen moving in a crowd towards the embankment. It appeared as though those from the lorries were refusing to go forward. A shot and more shouts were heard. Then the gendarmes dispersed, leaving behind them the huddled group. Then someone could be seen running from the group towards the gendarmes. A shot was heard, and the figure fell motionless. Now a few gendarmes went towards the people; apparently they had decided to take vigorous action. An explosion was heard, of a handgrenade, and at the same time machine-gun shots. One heard loud cries and shrieks, and then moans. Now, where a crowd of

huddled people had stood, only a dark mass of writhing bodies was to be seen. It was five o'clock in the afternoon.

"An hour later a crowd of people from Saska Kępa came to the spot, covered as it was with pools of blood, to hide the blood-stained sands with flowers. Flowers and burning candles were to be seen, and also the corpses of two women and a school-boy, who were shot by the German outposts from the Poniatowski-bridge while putting flowers on the sand. The rest fled in panic. At night some unknown hands again strewed flowers and lighted candles on the scene of the crime. This happened after every execution as soon as the gendarmes were gone. Handkerchiefs were dipped in the blood, crosses were erected, flowers were arranged, candles lighted and prayers said aloud. These demonstrations always led to fresh deaths. If a German patrol came across such a manifestation it would fire on the crowd without warning, scattering, beating and arresting the people, trampling on the flowers and candles, and breaking and removing the crosses. But all this did not deter the Warsaw population from demonstrating again in the same way on the next occasion."

After four months the Germans gave up executing the condemned in public, changing their method. Posters continued for a time to be stuck up on the walls, giving the names of persons shot, but later only the number of victims was given without any names The figures included those murdered in secret in the ruins of the ghetto; but the number of victims given in these German announcements was always very much lower than it was in reality.

The first public executions in Warsaw came as a terrible shock to the population of the city because:

a) There was complete lack of any proof of guilt of those who were shot, and the execution of people caught at random in the man-hunts created a feeling of uncertainty for everyone, as to their own fate and that of their relatives and friends.

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b) In spite of many years of oppression by the occupying power this new form of terrorism produced a strong effect on the feelings and imagination of all.

After the first few weeks of public executions, it became clear that the Germans had not succeeded in attaining their aim, which was to break the resistance of the population and cause disharmony between it and those who were fighting in the Underground Organizations, which the Germans claimed were responsible for the sufferings of the population at large.

The psychological effect of the executions proved the opposite of what the Germans wanted:

1) the threats of the Germans to destroy the freedom and lives of the Warsaw population caused hatred against them to spread among all classes.

2) It soon became clear to the people of Warsaw (who refused to believe that the persons executed had been taken from among those who had endeavoured to sabotage the German "reconstruction" work in the GG) that these executions were simply part of a deliberate extermination campaign and would go on under any circumstances. Consequently the underground Resistance movement readily undertook still greater acts of sabotage, such as the derailment of military trains. More Gestapo and SS-men were shot. The man chiefly responsible for the public executions, viz. Gestapo and SS-Commander Kutchera, was shot on February 1, 1944.

Although by their public executions in Warsaw the Germans entirely failed to attain their political or propaganda aims, they none the less did succeed to a notable extent in killing off the leading members of the community in the city which they so greatly hated.

In the eight months between October 15, 1943, and June 21, 1944, they announced the performance of 46 public executions, at 52 different places, with a total of 2705 deaths. In reality the number of persons executed was considerably greater.

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At the same time almost three times as many persons perished by secret executions in the area of the burnt ghetto: about 4,000 persons, including several hundred women. These figures have been carefully verified.

These executions among the ruins of the ghetto lasted right up to the outbreak of the Rising (the last taking place on July 29, 1944). From the day of the last official poster to the beginning of the Rising about 1,800 persons perished.

The approximate number of Poles killed in Warsaw from the beginning of the public executions until the Rising (Oct. 15, 1943 — Aug. 1, 1944) was about 8,000, most of whom had been caught in man-hunts in the Warsaw streets.

H4081-0121

Bekanntmachung

OBWIESZCZENIE

Am 2.12.1943 ist in der Feldherrn-Allee in Warschau wiederum ein heimtückischer Überfall auf einen Mannschaftswagen der Schutzpolizei verübt worden. Hierbei wurden 5 Schutzpolizeibeamte und 1 Angehöriger der Waffen-SS getötet und einige weitere Schutzpolizeibeamte verletzt. Durch Aussagen eines bei dem Überfall beteiligten Attentäters, des Polen WOJCIECH LESAKOWSKI, geb. 1.2.23 in Dublin, wohnh. in Warschau, Zurawiastr. 26/9, steht einwandfrei fest, dass der Überfall von einer Terrorgruppe der englandhörigen Widerstandsorganisation „PZP" begangen worden ist.

Als Vergeltung hierfür habe ich die nachfolgend aufgeführten 100 Verbrecher, die durch das Standgericht der Sicherheitspolizei gemäss §§ 1 und 2 der VO. zur Bekämpfung von Angriffen gegen das deutsche Aufbauwerk im GG. vom 2.10.43 wegen Waffenbesitzes und Teilnahme an verbotenen Organisationen am 16.11. und am 2.12.43 zum Tode verurteilt worden sind, am 3.12.43 öffentlich hinrichten lassen:

Dnia 2.12.1943 r. przy ul. Puławskiej został dokonany niecny napad na samochód z żołnierzami policji porządkowej, przy czym zostało 5 urzędników policji porządkowej i 1 żołnierz SS zabitych oraz kilku innych urzędników policji porządkowej rannych. Przez zeznanie jednego zamachowca, który uczestniczył przy napadzie, Polaka WOJCIECHA LESAKOWSKIEGO, ur. dn. 1.2.23 r. w Dublinie, zamieszkałego w Warszawie, ul. Żurawia 26/9, zostało niezbicie stwierdzone, że napad powyższy został dokonany przez grupę terorystyczną organizacji tajnej „PZP", stojącej na usługach Anglii.

Jako odwet za powyższe kazałem następujących 100 zbrodniarzy, którzy zostali skazani przez sąd doraźny Policji Bezpieczeństwa na podstawie §§ 1 i 2 zarządzenia o zwalczaniu wykroczeń przeciw niemieckiemu dziełu odbudowy w Gen. Gubernatorstwie z dnia 2.10.1943 r. za posiadanie broni i udział w zabronionych organizacjach w dniach 16.11.43 r. i 2.12.43 r. na karę śmierci, w dniu 3.12.1943 r. publicznie rozstrzelać:

1.	Gajderowicz	Tadeusz	geb.	1.10.11	35.	Tybora	Kazimierz	geb.	11.1.14	68.	Sulkolski	Wacław	geb.	25.2.16
2.	Szymański	Józef	„	1.2.08	36.	Czajkowski	Mieczysław	„	19.5.98	69.	Bowszys	Nikodem	„	21.4.09
3.	Pruszkiewicz	Jan	„	5.3.10	37.	Stankiewicz	Leszek	„	25.11.23	70.	Kozlak	Stanisław	„	24.8.22
4.	Kłos	Zygmunf	„	23.12.16	38.	Czyżewski	Jan	„	26.6.99	71.	Lewandowski	Witold	„	26.2.01
5.	Pawlow	Eugeniusz	„	17.5.12	39.	Stypułkowski	Witalis	„	23.9.23	72.	Balaziński	Maksymilian	„	20.12.14
6.	Złotkowski	Zbigniew	„	24.5.24	40.	Wójcik	Tadeusz	„	3.10.21	73.	Dutkiewicz	Zdzisław	„	22.3.87
7.	Koza	Stanisław	„	15.12.19	41.	Fickie	Julian	„	18.1.79	74.	Moroz	Jerzy	„	21.8.17
8.	Kościelski	Franciszek	„	4.10.22	42.	Bebarski	Stanisław	„	16.1.19	75.	Kamiński	Józef	„	27.8.95
9.	Kościelski	Tadeusz	„	10.9.24	43.	Dębniak	Władysław	„	9.6.20	76.	Kamiński	Krzysztof-Antoni	„	16.6.25
10.	Laskowski	Władysław	„	1.5.21	44.	Zurek	Ludwik	„	30.8.07	77.	Szurmak	Aleksander	„	22.9.99
11.	Pachulski	Marian	„	4.2.23	45.	Słoczyński	Kazimierz	„	25.11.21	78.	Walczak	Kazimierz	„	12.5.01
12.	Paldyna	Mieczysław	„	28.7.24	46.	Gawski	Stanisław	„	22.4.22	79.	Dłużniewski	Marian	„	28.4.09
13.	Preksler	Władysław	„	3.9.12	47.	Zaborowski	Jerzy	„	17.11.01	80.	Siedzieniewski	Stanisław	„	21.12.03
14.	Rogala	Romuald	„	22.7.21	48.	Lisiecki	Konstantyn	„	14.7.13	81.	Pietruszyński	Wojciech-Władysław	„	15.11.92
15.	Rudziński	Henryk	„	1.2.16	49.	Czechowski	Stanisław	„	17.9.19	82.	Tomaszewski	Józef	„	26.2.04
16.	Symonowicz	Piotr	„	28.5.12	50.	Hauzenplas	Zdzisław	„	8.10.21	83.	Tumidajski	Leszek	„	26.7.21
17.	Trojan	Zenon	„	2.1.12	51.	Bielec	Jan-Antoni	„	20.6.21	84.	Sulikowski	Ignacy-Józef	„	13.9.22
18.	Wierzbicki	Józef	„	19.3.19	52.	Węgrowski	Stanisław	„	1.9.17	85.	Pytlakowski	Józef-Stanisław	„	2.3.95
19.	Zielonka	Zygmunt	„	11.11.20	53.	Prokurat	Władysław	„	17.5.14	86.	Bogucki	Kazimierz	„	16.6.16
20.	Zimny	Jan	„	17.12.11	54.	Pawelczyk	Tadeusz	„	5.9.20	87.	Dębek	Szczepan	„	2.12.96
21.	Froelich	Stanisław	„	8.2.04	55.	Dominiak	Henryk	„	19.10.19	88.	Szumiłło	Mieczysław	„	12.1.900
22.	Fickie	Tadeusz	„	8.3.25	56.	Kropczyński	Leonard	„	16.7.22	89.	Haberko	Zdzisław	„	1.1.18
23.	Królikowski	Leonard	„	6.11.21	57.	Pracki	Jan-Wojciech	„	28.12.15	90.	Grudziński	Stanisław	„	30.4.06
24.	Paradowski	Mieczysław, Feliks	„	10.10.19	58.	Chorzela	Wiktor	„	28.12.99	91.	Turkowski	Jan	„	14.5.19
25.	Kowalski	Jan	„	28.4.22	59.	Zielenkiewicz	Aleksander	„	26.2.90	92.	Balecki	Witold	„	15.1.25
26.	Śliwiński	Henryk	„	24.2.01	60.	Buyno	Tadeusz-Ludwik	„	29.10.04	93.	Nalecki	Czesław	„	21.3.18
27.	Owoc	Jan	„	21.4.83	61.	Karski	Jan-Władysław	„	27.6.94	94.	Dymiński	Roman	„	3.5.08
28.	Trzonek	Henryk	„	29.10.12	62.	Dłutek	Stanisław	„	29.12.12	95.	Kozłowski	Bolesław	„	9.7.12
29.	Bryła	Stefan	„	17.8.86	63.	Rozbicki	Stanisław	„	7.11.02	96.	Swynecki	Zygmunt	„	15.4.10
30.	Talarek	Stefan	„	25.12.18	64.	Kołtun	Czesław	„	5.2.20	97.	Szymulski	Józef	„	30.6.05
31.	Nowacki	Teodor	„	13.8.02	65.	Kuczyński	Bolesław	„	14.2.15	98.	Gilski	Waldemar	„	26.2.23
32.	Kamiński	Kazimierz	„	4.3.22	66.	Stankiewicz	Jan	„	20.3.03	99.	Gurlaga	Ryszard	„	20.3.11
33.	Nowacki	Stefan	„	21.9.1900	67.	Kamiński	Jerzy	„	20.11.20	100.	Bogacki	Kazimierz	„	8.2.11
34.	Kowalski	Stanisław	„	23.11.07										

Die Hingerichteten gehörten englandhörigen Widerstandsorganisationen, und zwar vorwiegend dem „PZP", an und waren zu einem Teil für einen Gnadenerweis in Aussicht genommen.

DER SS- UND POLIZEIFÜHRER
im Distrikt Warschau

Warschau, den 3. Dezember 1943.

Druckerei 6043

Straceni należeli do organizacji, stojących na usługach Anglii, i to przeważnie do „PZP", i byli częściowo przewidziani do ułaskawienia.

DOWÓDCA SS- I POLICJI
na Dystrykt Warszawski

Warszawa, dnia 3. grudnia 1943 r.

H4081-0122

BEKANNTMACHUNG
OBWIESZCZENIE

Trotz wiederholter Warnungen sind in der Zeit vom 1.—11.3.1944 wiederum 12 heimtückische Überfälle auf Deutsche und in deutschen Diensten stehende Personen in der Stadt Warschau ausgeführt worden. Hierbei wurden 4 Deutsche getötet, 9 Deutsche schwer verwundet und zum Teil beraubt und 2 in deutschen Diensten stehende Polen schwer verwundet und beraubt. In allen Fällen wurde die Tat in hinterhältiger und heimtückischer Weise begangen. Es sind daraufhin am 21.3.44 von den durch das Standgericht der Sicherheitspolizei zum Tode verurteilten Personen, die zunächst für einen Gnadenerweis in Aussicht genommen waren,

140 polnische Verbrecher,

die als Angehörige des PZP. und der PPR. im Solde Englands und Moskaus standen, öffentlich hingerichtet worden.

Die Bevölkerung Warschaus sowie die Kreishauptmannschaft Warschau-Land wird erneut aufgefordert, alles zu tun, um weitere Überfälle auf Deutsche oder in deutschen Diensten stehende Polen zu verhindern oder zur Ergreifung der Täter mitzuwirken, damit weitere Hinrichtungen unterbleiben und die weiterhin zum Tode verurteilten Personen zur Begnadigung vorgeschlagen werden können.

Warschau, den 21. März 1944.

DER KOMMANDEUR DER SICHERHEITSPOLIZEI
UND DES SD FÜR DEN DISTRIKT WARSCHAU

DRUCKEREI — 6534

Mimo kilkakrotnych upomnień dokonano w czasie od 1 do 11.3.1944 r. w mieście Warszawie znowuż 12 niecnych napadów na Niemców i osoby, stojące w służbie niemieckiej. Przy czym 4 Niemców zostało zabitych, 9 Niemców ciężko ranionych i częściowo obrabowanych i 2 Polaków, stojących w służbie niemieckiej, ciężko poranionych i obrabowanych. We wszystkich wypadkach czyn wykonano w sposób niecny i podstępny. Wobec powyższego poleciłem z pośród osób, skazanych przez Sąd Doraźny Policji Bezpieczeństwa na karę śmierci a przewidzianych tymczasem do ułaskawienia, w dniu 21.3.1944 r.

140 polskich przestępców,

którzy jako członkowie PZP. i PPR. byli na żołdzie Anglii i Moskwy, publicznie stracić.

Wzywa się niniejszym poraz wtóry mieszkańców Warszawy i obwodu starostwa powiatowego Warszawa-Wieś by czynili wszystko i niedopuścili do dalszych napadów na Niemców lub Polaków, stojących w służbie niemieckiej, oraz współdziałali przy ujęciu sprawców i tym samym zapobiegli dalszym straceniom, a reszta osób, skazanych na karę śmierci, mogła być przedstawiona do ułaskawienia.

Warszawa, dnia 21 marca 1944 r.

DOWÓDCA POLICJI BEZPIECZEŃSTWA
I SD NA DYSTRYKT WARSZAWSKI

H4081-0123

GERMAN CRIMES COMMITTED DURING THE WARSAW RISING

VII

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The crimes committed by the Germans at the time of the Warsaw rising in August and September, 1944, occupy a special place among those committed by them in Poland during the recent war. These crimes, the victims of which were thousands of unarmed citizens, men, women and children, were committed by army troops in fulfilment of explicit orders given by the highest German army authorities; they were carried out by the German Army and the German General Staff, institutions independent of the Gestapo.

The whole question is not essentially changed by the fact that the majority of these troops consisted of a police brigade in which criminals and *Volksdeutsche* served and of the Vlassow army composed of Soviet prisoner-of-war, (Warsaw population usually called them Ukrainians) for these were parts of the German army, under German Command. They were thrown into action and committed common crimes by order of the German High Command.

German soldiers and members of the Vlassov army in German uniform together committed atrocities on an unarmed civilian population. It is not material that certain of their criminal deeds, such, as the violation of women, were done principally by Vlassov's men; these facts were known to the German officers who allowed them to happen. Vlassov's troops were merely carrying out crimes; they were pawns in a general criminal scheme. Everything that happened in the tragic days of the Warsaw Rising was known to and approved by the German Command.

Before we begin a detailed account of the German proceedings during the Rising, supported by the testimony of German generals and the texts of military orders, we shall first

publish a series of reports of German crimes given by eye-witnesses. These consist of evidence taken from people who were present while the crimes were actually being committed; some of it from persons who were themselves victims of these crimes, but were lucky enough to remain alive.

These reports, which are undoubtedly truthful, cover only certain districts of the town and do not by any means account for all the crimes that were committed. They give, however, sufficient material to enable us to understand the methods employed and the kind of offences perpetrated on the civilian population of Warsaw. Military operations — in the proper meaning of the word — against the insurgents constituted only a small part of the German misdeeds; military operations directed against a tiny group of insurgents, which were justified from the military point of view, should not have brought about the death of tens of thousands of unarmed men, women and children, or the complete destruction and burning of the city. The crimes committed in Warsaw during the Rising were deliberately directed against the inhabitants, who had nothing to do with the activities of the insurgents; they were committed in districts where there were no insurgents, and where no action was dictated by military considerations.

The following statements by witnesses and victims of German crimes in Warsaw constitute irrefragable evidence, which is at the same time an accusation against the German military authorities.

Crimes committed in the Marie Curie-Sklodowska Radium Institute.

Record No 45/II:

"Between ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of August 5, 1944, numerous military formations were seen approaching from the direction of the houses of Wawelska Street. Soon

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afterwards about a hundred soldiers in German uniforms, belonging to Vlasov's detachment (R. O. A.), rushed into the building of the Radium Institute, shouting and shooting at random.

That gang of drunken soldiers, having first secured the exits, began searching and plundering. There were at the time about 90 patients and 80 members of the staff with their families in the building. They were robbed by the soldiers of all their jewels, watches, and money and even of such trifles as fountain-pens, automatic lighters, or pocket mirrors.

The fact that the institution was a hospital, which was explained to the soldiers and was in any case obvious owing to the presence of the patients and the staff in their white coats, left the soldiers indifferent.

After having been robbed, the whole staff were driven by threat of machine-gun-fire into the hospital garden, where the stage was set for an execution.

Amid insulting and threatening shouts and shots fired in all directions, the victims were lined up in rows of three and forbidden to look round; and then an order was given to set up machine guns in their rear.

The husband of one of the patients, who slightly transgressed against the above-mentioned order, was killed on the spot by a revolver shot.

The whole party were then led in this order from the hospital garden across the Mokotow field and along streets in which lay dead bodies with skulls split open, to a camp at "Zieleniak".

There they were kept for four days and nights in the open air, without food or water. Time and again women were assaulted, dragged out and violated by the drunken soldiers. Some of the Staff of the Institute were then transported via Pruszkow to Germany. Others succeeded in escaping from the transport and stayed in the vicinity of Warsaw.

We must here mention the fact that when the Hospital Staff

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were taken straight from their work, dressed very lightly, mostly in their white coats, they were not allowed to take anything with them, and if anybody happened to be carrying a parcel or a small suit-case, it was immediately taken from him.

About 90 patients confined to bed remained in the hospital, and 9 members of the staff had hidden in the chimney flues, and thus avoided expulsion.

That same day the plundering and demolishing of the buildings was begun. Doors were broken down, stores, cupboards, safes and suit-cases were broken open, and glass was smashed. All the mattresses, pillows, blankets, and linen were ripped up and thrown about in the corridors and wards of the hospital. The ether and spirits were drunk and the store-rooms emptied.

More valuable things (clothing, linen, dresses, or silver) were stolen or thrown out of the windows and destroyed. Female patients were assaulted and violated.

On the next day, August 6, 1944, the barbarity of the drunken soldiers reached its climax. Some of the seriously sick and wounded, lying on the ground floor (about 15 in number), were killed with revolver shots, after which their mattresses were set on fire under their dead bodies. As not all the shots hit their mark, and those that did were not always fatal, some women who were too weak and ill to move were burnt alive. Only one of them, although badly burned and very weak, dragged herself out of bed and crawling on all fours escaped immediate death.

While these atrocities were going on, petrol was poured on the floors and the Institute was set on fire, all the exits having first been covered by machine-guns. In spite of this three women (an X-ray assistant, a nurse and a patient) managed to slip out of the building. Two of them were caught, and after having been violated many times by the soldiers were brutally murdered. Their common grave has been found in the

hospital garden, where they were buried by those who were forced to dig trenches.

The remaining patients, on the upper floors, over 70 in number, and seven members of the staff who had managed to hide themselves, remained in the burning building, making desperate efforts to find some place where they could hold out against the suffocating smoke and burning heat of the fire.

That day the unfortunate victims saved their lives for the moment, thanks to the fact that the Institute was burning comparatively slowly, owing to the absence of any great quantity of inflammable material and to the existence of fire-proof parquet floors. But later all the patients and one nurse were killed.

No less terrible were the scenes which took place in the science building of the Institute. It is true that the inmates were taken to the "Zieleniak" camp, but the building was set on fire and the people from the adjacent building (belonging to the Navy) were brought there. The women and children were separated from the men, who were driven into the burning building under the threat of machine-gun-fire. In this way eleven men perished in the presence of their families.

After committing these revolting atrocities, the soldiers left the Institute for a while. The 70 patients and the 7 members of the staff still remained in the building. The nurses stealthily cooked hot food for the patients at night and looked after them. Between August 6 and 9 Vlassov's men returned from time to time to the hospital, and took away girls of 13 or 14, whom they violated and then killed in the garden. They repeatedly carried out executions in the grounds of the Institute, after driving their victims to the spot from the city, and sometimes they set fire to the building again.

Meanwhile the German soldiers also came with cars and carried away all the valuable objects from the hospital, such as X-ray apparatus, laboratory outfits, or furniture.

When begged by members of the staff still remaining in the building to transfer them to a safer place, they answered that they could not do so.

On August 19, Vlasov's men came back again and the final destruction of the Hospital began. The few members of the staff were ordered to leave the Institute and to take out all the patients. Among the latter were three women very seriously ill, who could not even walk. One of them was carried out into the garden by a woman member of the staff, who however, did not succeed in saving the other two, for a soldier rushed up and shot them, and then poured petrol over their bodies, which he set on fire. One of them was the woman mentioned above, who on August 8 had crawled from her burning bed and so saved her life — but only for a fortnight.

When everybody had left, the building was set on fire: 2 members of the staff had not obeyed the order and were still hiding in a chimney.

When the soldiers noticed in the procession a very sick woman, staggering and helped along by the others (it was the one who had been carried out by a member of the staff), they ordered her to be laid down near the wall of 19, Wawelska Street, where one of them shot her, and then set fire to the body.

In the "Zieleniak" camp only 4 members of the Staff survived. The remainder, about 70 patients and one nurse, were drawn up three deep, and marched into the Health Centre Building, where an officer was waiting for them and shot them through the head. Their dead bodies, — indeed probably some were still alive — were piled up in the execution room, sprinkled with petrol, and set on fire. In this way, all the patients at the Radium Institute were massacred.

Of the 9 members of the staff who remained in the building after August 5, 1944, two nurses were murdered (one of them after having been violated many times), one woman employee

escaped from the burning building and was saved, four were taken to the "Zieleniak", and two stayed hidden in the chimney flues for a couple of months. They left as late as October 1944.

In this report of indescribable German atrocities, the following two points should be stressed: 1) that the inmates of the Radium Institute had not by their behaviour given any cause whatever for reprisals, 2) that the terrible crimes perpetrated by Vlassov's men were carried out by order of the German authorities to whom they were subordinated, and who knew of their barbarity.

That the action was planned and premeditated by the German commanding is proved also by the following circumstances: 1) that Vlassov's men were purposely given drink before marching on the city, 2) that one of the murderers stated on August 5 in the Institute: "The building won't be burnt to-day, for we haven't any orders yet", and 3) that the German Chief of Hospital and Ambulance Services in the Warsaw sector, Captain Borman, declared to a doctor, who begged him to intervene in the matter of the Radium Institute: "It is of no importance if several old women with cancer perish — the most important thing is to win the war".

Crimes in Other Hospitals

Record No. 80:

„In the summer of 1944, I was sent as a patient to Wola Hospital, where I was still, suffering from sudative pleurisy, when the Rising began. The Germans came to the Hospital on August 3 at 1 p. m. I was in the cellar with many other sick and wounded. On entering the cellar, the Germans fired a round from a machine-gun and several wounded men who were standing near the entrance fell dead. A few minutes

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later the order was given to leave the hospital. All the wounded and sick who were able to walk went with the hospital staff, while the more severely wounded were carried on stretchers. Our march was a nightmare. I felt very weak, still having drainage tubes in one side. We were driven to a shed a few metres behind a tunnel in Gorczewska Street. Many people were already there. After examining our documents, they divided us into groups, and then began to drive us out. Soon the group to which I belonged was taken out for execution. We were led towards a large house (already on fire) near the tunnel; were ordered to form rows of twelve people, and were then driven into the yard of this house. At the entrance Ukrainians (six in number) shot from close range at every person who entered, and thus the dead fell into the flames of the burning house. I saw clearly, when waiting my turn in the first group of twelve people, doctors, assistants in white aprons and also (if I am not mistaken) some priests being shot. Among the doctors was Prof. Grzybowski; then the wounded and sick in the other rows were driven to death, and when the turn of those on stretchers came, they were shot first and the stretcher-bearers after them. It was only by a miracle that I escaped death. When I was driven to the entrance in a group of twelve, I turned to one of the officers and told him, falsely, that I myself and my two companions were *Volksdeutsche* (I speak German well). So the German ordered us to fall back and follow him; he led us to a German first-aid station, situated in the neighbourhood. About 500 persons were shot in my presence, among them many from the Wola Hospital; others also, driven here from other streets in the Wola suburb, were with us. The volleys lasted till late into the night. At nightfall hand-grenades were thrown on the heaps of corpses and in the morning a tank arrived, and demolished the burnt house, thus covering the corpses of the murdered (already partly burnt) as well as the place of execution.

"The frightful smell of burning corpses was unbearable. I saw it all quite well, as I stayed in the German first-aid station (situated quite near), till the following morning."

Record No. 94:

"On August 5, 1944, at 2 p. m., the Germans broke into Wola Hospital in Plocka Street. Robbing began; the staff and the wounded were searched, and their money, watches and valuables were taken from them. At about 3 p. m. the Germans broke into the Hospital Director's office and shots were heard from there. They shot the Director, Dr. Marian Piasecki, Prof. Zeyland and the Rev. Father Kazimierz Ciecierski, Chaplain of the Hospital (who had been specially summoned to the office). Then the order was given for the Hospital to be evacuated. The staff and all the patients who could walk were ordered to leave the premises. The procession was dreadful: the doctors leading, then the assistants, then the patients, staggering along, supported by those who were stronger. Some had their arms in splints, others were on crutches; all in their underlinen, often incomplete, moving on with almost superhuman effort. We were driven behind the railvay subway to a shed or rather to a factory hall, called Moczydlo, where were already several hundred people; and there with shouts and threats they divided us into groups. After some time four people were called out, then twenty-five. At the entrance, they were ordered to give up their watches. After a moment we heard shots. As there was no fighting near by we knew that an execution was taking place near us; the well-known sound of machine-gun fire was heard, and later single shots.

There was no doubt that those who had been led out had been shot. Being a priest, I told those present the fate that probably awaited us and gave them absolution. After a moment the Germans called out 50 men. The atmosphere of death had already spread in the hall; the men went reluctantly.

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Then 70 men were called out and again shots were heard; then the last group; among them the doctors, assistants and male nursing staff. To this group we also belonged, that is to say myself and another priest, Antoni Branszweig (alumn). I succeeded at the last moment in slipping away from the group which was coming out and hid among some nuns. The party of doctors were led out to death before my eyes. I did not see the execution itself, I only heard the volleys. I was told afterwards that the executions took place inside and in the courtyards of burning houses, at several places in Gorczewska Street. In the last group I saw Prof. Grzybowski, Dr. Drozdowski, Dr. Sokolowski, and Dr. Lempicki led out for execution.

"Next day, disguised as a nun, I was taken with the remainder of the women in the direction of the Wola fortifications. During that march I escaped.

"More than 200 people from Wola Hospital were then shot.

"The criminals belonged to SS and Ukrainian detachments."

Record No. 215:

„On the night of August 5/6, 1944, the St. Lazarus Hospital was taken. Owing to very intense artillery fire and air raids, the staff and the wounded retired to the shelter. The Germans threw grenades and mines and poured petrol into it and set it on fire. About 600 people were burnt. The whole hospital building was also burnt down after they had first removed all the Germans, who had been given the same care by the Poles as the Polish insurgents themselves.

"When one of the nuns tried to intervene on behalf of the wounded, a German threw a hand-grenade at her".

Record No. 189:

„St. Lazarus' Hospital. On Aug. 6, 1944, the stronger patients and the staff (200 persons altogether) were driven out of

the hospital. All were shot: among them 28 from the chief staff. Mrs. Dr. Barcz was shot together with her husband (also a doctor). She was only wounded, and fell to the ground, where she was found next day, together with some male nurses, and brought to St. Stanislaus' Hospital. Dr. Barcz was never found: probably he died. One of the nurses who was saved, Mrs. Maciejewska, states that the severely wounded and the old men were taken under her supervision to the shelter, but were murdered there with hand-grenades when the hospital was captured. Not one of them was saved".

How the civilian population was murdered

Record No. 95:

"On August 5, 1944, I was sitting in the cellar of No. 4, Staszica Str. with other inhabitants of the house, when suddenly the Germans broke in and drove us out, at the same time grabbing the things we had with us. The women were separated from the men and driven in the direction of Dzialdowska Str.

"I was led out with a group of men to the yard of No. 15, Staszica Street. Several hundred men had been driven into this yard. The Germans began to fire machine guns at the crowd. I had withdrawn to the rear, so that before the first rows had fallen, I succeeded in lying down and concealing myself. The shots did not reach me. After some time I crawled out from under a heap of corpses. When, after some time, a German officer arrived, he did not give the order to finish those who were still alive, but allowed us to join the people who were being driven along the street. I thus got to Gorczewska Street and from there to Moczydlo. When I was passing No 26, Staszica Street, I heard shots coming from the yard; an execution was taking place".

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Record No. 53:

"I lived in the suburb of Wola, at No. 45, Gorczewska Street. On August 2, 1944, SS-men ordered us to leave and go to the house opposite; our house and the neighbouring ones were then burnt down. We got news on the 3rd that our position was hopeless, and that we were going to be shot. Several hundreds of people were gathered in the house. At 11 a. m. on August 4 the Germans surrounded the house, and ordered us to get out; dreadful cries from the women and children were heard. Some shots were fired at the entrance, and many people were killed or wounded. We were driven out into the potato field and ordered to lie down in the furrows. They guarded us closely, so that there was no chance of escape. After some minutes we were ordered to get up. Then they led us under a bridge quite near. There was no doubt about our fate. A woman asked where they were taking us. The answer was: "German women and children are dying owing to you, so you must also die". They regrouped us, separating a group of 70 people, who were sent over the bridge towards a hill. They placed the others (among whom I was) near a wall, amid barbed wire. In different places near us shots were heard: victims of the German persecutors were being executed. We were herded together. I stood on the outskirts of our group, while at a distance of about 5 metres (16 or 17 ft.) from us one of our tormentors quietly made ready to fire a machine-gun, and another took photographs of us, as they wanted to keep a record of the execution. Several were watching us. A volley of shots rang out, followed by cries and groans. I fell wounded and lost consciousness. After a certain time I recovered my senses. I heard them finishing off the wounded I did not move, pretending to be dead. They left one German to keep watch. The murderers set the neighbouring houses, large and small, on fire. The heat scorched me, the smoke choked me, and my dress began to burn, I tried cautiously to put out the flames.

I was hidden by a potato basket, and when the German sentinel was looking in another direction I pushed the basket in front of me and crawled along for a few yards behind it. Suddenly the wind blew a cloud of smoke in our direction so that the sentinel could not see me. I jumped to my feet and ran into the cellar of a burning house. There I found several people slightly wounded who had succeeded in getting out from under a heap of corpses. We set to work to dig an underground passage, a difficult task amid fire and smoke. At last, after several hours of superhuman effort, the passage was finished and brought us out in the courtyard of a neighbouring house, not yet on fire. This was about half past twelve at night. Someone led us out to the fields, away from the fighting and burning. I could hardly keep on my feet. I am still in hospital. The number of persons shot in my presence may be estimated at about 500, only 3 or 4 having been saved. The murderers were SS-men." (The Polish text shows that the author is a woman, this cannot be shown in the English translation save by the one word "dress". Note by the translator).

Record No. 73:

"On August 5, 1944, between 12 and 2 p. m., I saw from a window on the first floor of Wola Hospital Germans dragging women out of the cellars of No. 28, Plocka Str. They shot them in the courtyard with machine-guns. Almost at the same time, I saw in the courtyard of No. 30, Plocka Str. the hands of more then 20 people raised and visible over the fence (the people themselves could not be seen). After a volley of shots these hands fell down: this was another of the executions in Wola".

Record No. 57:

"I lived in the Wola district at No. 8, Elekcyjna Street. At 10 a. m. on Aug. 5, 1944 a detachment of SS-men and Vlassov's

men entered. They drove us from the cellars and brought us near the Sowinski Park at Ulrychow. They shot at us when we passed. My wife was killed on the spot: our child was wounded and cried for his mother. Soon a Ukrainian approached and killed my two-year-old child like a dog; then he approached me together with some Germans and stood on my chest to see whether I was alive or not. — I shammed dead, lest I should be killed too. One of the murderers took my watch; I heard him reloading his gun. I thought he would finish me off, but he went on further, thinking I was dead. I lay thus from 10 a. m. until 9 p. m. pretending to be dead, and witnessing further atrocities. During that time I saw further groups being driven out and shot near the place where I lay. The huge heap of corpses grew still bigger. Those who gave any sign of life were shot. I was buried under other corpses and nearly suffocated. The executions lasted until 5 p. m. At 9 p. m. a group of Poles came to take the corpses away. I gave them a sign that I was alive. They helped me to get up and I regained sufficient strength to carry with them the body of my wife and child to the Sowinski Park, where they took all the dead. After this sad duty had been performed they took me to St. Laurence's Church at Wola, where I remained till next day. I cannot state the exact number of the victims, but I estimate that those among whom I lay amounted to some 3,000 (three thousand). I met a friend in the church who had gone through the same experience as I, having lost a boy of 8, who had been wounded and died calling for his father. I am still in hospital and the image of death is constantly before my eyes".

Record No. 63:

"I lived at No. 18, Dzialdowska Street, Wola. The Insurgents had built two barricades near our house, at the corner of Wolska and Gorczewska Streets, with the help of the inhabitants, including even children. Machine-guns, ammunition and

grenades were placed in the neighbouring house. On August 1 at 3 p. m. heavy fighting broke out in our district. The situation had been difficult from the beginning, all the more because the *Volksdeutsche*, who were numerous here, shot covertly at the Insurgents and betrayed their whereabouts to the Germans. Tiger tanks were brought up, houses were broken into, and many people were killed; our house was hit several times. The tanks attacked from Wolska and Gorczewska Streets. The Germans broke in; they dragged the men out and ordered them to demolish the barricades. They then began to set the houses on fire. I saw Nos. 35 and 8 in our street being set on fire; bottles of petrol were thrown into the flats without warning, and so it was impossible for the inhabitants to escape. I stayed in the cellar of No. 18 until August 5, when, between 11 and 12 noon, the Germans ordered all of us to get out, and marched us to Wolska Street. This march was carried out in dreadful haste and panic. My husband was absent, taking an active part in the Rising, and I was alone with my three children, aged 4, 6 and 12, and in the last month of pregnancy. I delayed my departure, hoping they would allow me to remain, and left the cellar at the very last moment. All the inhabitants of our house had already been escorted to the "Ursus" works in Wolska Street at the corner of Skierniewicka Str., and I too was ordered to go there. I went alone, accompanied only by my three children. It was difficult to pass, the road being full of wire, cable, remains of barricades, corpses, and rubble. Houses were burning on both sides of the street; I reached the "Ursus" works with great difficulty. Shots, cries, supplications and groans could be heard from the factory yard. We had no doubt that this was a place for mass executions. The people who stood at the entrance were led, no, pushed in, not all at once but in groups of 20. A boy of twelve, seeing the bodies of his parents and of his little brother through the half-open entrance door, fell in a fit and began to shriek. The Germans and Vlassov's men beat him and pushed him back,

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while he was endeavouring to get inside. He called for his father and his mother. We all knew what awaited us here; there was no possibility of escape or of buying one's life; there was a crowd of Germans, Ukrainians (Vlassov's men), and cars. I came last and kept in the background, continuing to let the others pass, in the hope that they would not kill a pregnant woman, but I was driven in with the last lot. In the yard I saw heaps of corpses 3 feet high, in several places. The whole right and left side of the big yard (the first yard) was strewn with bodies." (A sketch of the yard was made by the deponent.) "We were led through the second. There were about 20 people in our group, mostly children of 10 to 12. There were children without parents, and also a paralysed old woman whose son-in-law had been carrying her all the time on his back. At her side was her daughter with two children of 4 and 7. They were all killed. The old woman was literally killed on her son-in-law's back, and he along with her. We were called out in groups of four and led to the end of the second yard to a pile of bodies. When the four reached this point, the Germans shot them through the backs of their heads with revolvers. The victims fell on the heap, and others came. Seeing what was to be their fate, some attempted to escape; they cried, begged, and prayed for mercy. I was in the last group of four. I begged the Vlassov's men around me to save me and the children, and they asked if I had anything with which to buy my life. I had a large amount of gold with me and gave it them. They took it all and wanted to lead me away, but the German supervising the execution would not allow them to do so, and when I begged him to let me go he pushed me off, shouting "Quicker!" I fell when he pushed me. He also hit and pushed my elder boy, shouting "hurry up, you Polish bandit". Thus I came to the place of execution, in the last group of four, with my three children. I held my two younger children by one hand, and my elder boy by the other. The children were crying and praying. The elder boy, seeing the mass of

bodies, cried out: "they are going to kill us" and called for his father. The first shot hit him, the second me; the next two killed the two younger children.I fell on my right side. The shot was not fatal. The bullet penetrated the back of my head from the right side and went out through my cheek. I spat out several teeth; I felt the left side of my body growing numb, but I was still conscious and saw everything that was going on around me. I witnessed other executions, lying there among the dead. More groups of men were led in. I heard cries, supplications, moaning, and shots. The bodies of these men fell on me. I was covered by four bodies. Then I again saw a group of women and children; thus it went on with group after group until late in the evening. It was already quite, quite dark when the executions stopped. In the intervals between the shootings the murderers walked on the corpses, kicked them, and turned them over, finishing off those who still gave any sign of life, and stealing valuables. (They took a watch from my wrist, but I did not give any sign of life). They did not touch the bodies with their bare hands, but put rags round them. During these dreadful doings they sang and drank vodka. Near me, there lay a big, tall man of middle age in a brown leather coat. He was alive, I heard his death-rattle; they fired 5 shots at him before they killed him. During this shooting some shots wounded my feet. I lay quite numb for a long time in a pool of blood, the dead weighing on me. I was, however, conscious all the time and fully realized what was happening to me. Towards evening I succeeded in pushing away the corpses which lay over me. It is impossible to imagine how much blood there was all round. Next day the executions ceased. The Germans broke in 2 or 3 times during the day. Now they had dogs with them. They walked and jumped on the corpses to see if any of the supposed dead were still alive. On the third day I felt the child move in my womb. The thought that I dare not kill *this* child made me look round to examine the situation and the possibilities of escape. Several times, when I tried to

get up, I became sick and dizzy. At last I succeeded in crawling on all fours over the bodies of the dead towards the wall and looked round for a way of escape. I saw that the passage through the first yard which was there when we were being led to death was now blocked by a pile of corpses. German voices were heard from the street; I had to look for another way. I crawled into the third yard and found a hiding-place there in a hall where I got through an open window with the help of a ladder. I hid here, fearing the Germans might come to control the place, and spent the whole night here. That night was dreadful. A Tiger tank stood in the street firing continuously, and planes did not cease bombing. All the walls shook. I feared the factory with all the dead would take fire any moment. In the morning all was quiet. I climbed up to look through the window to see if there were any living people about and saw a woman." (As stated later it was another victim who had escaped death by some miracle. She also was an inhabitant of our house.) "Then a man about 60 years old came crawling through the yard; he had also escaped death, but had lost one eye. They had both spent these two days in some hiding-place. We began to search the whole yard for some way out. After a long search and many attempts to get free, we at last found a hole on Skierniewicka Street and made our way out through it. The man, however, hearing the voices of Ukrainians did not follow us. They were standing at the corner of Wolska Street and did not see us. We went through the debris and rubble into the middle of the street. Then they saw us and surrounded us, though we begged them to allow us to get to a hospital, as we were wounded, which was obvious. We were soaked in blood. We were driven in the direction of Wola in a group with other passers-by, picking up still more on the way. At a certain spot the younger and older people in the group were separated. Young men and women were put on one side and then marched towards a house of execution. This was past Plocka Street in the direction of St. Stanislaus'

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Church. The remaining group (including myself and my companion) were driven to St. Stanislaus' Church. I saw heaps of corpses on the road and parts of bodies, and Poles carrying the bodies away under escort. German officers standing in front of the church laughed at us, and kicked and beat us. The church was overcrowded. People were being taken in and out. I was then so exhausted that they laid me with the other sick persons before the High Altar. There was no help. I only got a drop of water. After two days I was taken on a peasant's cart with the other sick and wounded to Pruszków, and from there to Komorow, and then still further to Podkowa Lesna. It was only there — on August 11 — that I got medical attention and help. On August 20 I gave birth to a little boy. I suppose I have lost, not only my three children, but also my husband, for he told me that he was going to stay in Warsaw to the end. I have no hope that he is still alive after all the dreadful things that happened.

"The Germans were setting houses on fire; throwing people out; hunting and beating them. In the yard of the "Ursus" works people were shot by Vlassov's men under the command of a German; they say he was from the SS. As far as I can judge, there must have been 5—7 thousand dead in the yard of this factory. About 200 people were driven there from our block alone, which had over 40 flats (with about 4 people in each), and all were killed".

Record No. 58:

"When I was endeavouring to get outside the town from Wola, I passed through Gorczewska Street. This was on August 7, 1944. When we passed No. 9, Gorczewska Street (a house which belonged to nuns), we were called into the house and ordered to carry out and bury the corpses which were there. The courtyard was a dreadful sight. It was an execution place. Heaps of corpses were lying there; I think they must have been

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collecting there for some days, for some were already swollen and others quite freshly killed. There were bodies of men, women and children, all shot through the backs of their heads. It is difficult to state exactly how many there were. There must have been several layers carelessly heaped up. The men were ordered to carry away the bodies — we women to bury them. We put them in anti-tank trenches and then filled these up. In this way we filled up a number of such trenches in Gorczewska Street. I took the impression that during the first days of the Rising everybody was killed. Later on women and children were sometimes left alive, but the killing of men still went on. I watched all this until August 7, when I succeeded somehow in getting away out of this hell, having been saved by a miracle".

Record No. 59:

"On August 5, 1944, at Warsaw at about 4 or 5 p. m., the houses Nos. 105, 107, 109, Wolska Street immediately behind the railway bridge, the so-called Hankiewicz-houses, were suddenly surrounded from all sides by Germans, who threw hand-grenades and set then on fire by means of some white powder, which they carried in bags. There were many inhabitants there and lots of people had come here from town. No order to leave the houses was given. After the Germans had surrounded them no one left them: everyone was burnt alive or else killed by hand-grenades. No one could escape. Only those were saved who had left the houses at some earlier hour. It was said that the Germans burnt all the houses in which insurgents had stayed. In the Hankiewicz houses some 2,000 people or perhaps even more found their death".

Record No. 60:

"On August 7, 1944, about 9 p. m., at No. 15, Gorczewska Street, the three and four-storeyed Wawelberg blocks were

surrounded by Germans (SS-men). They threw hand-grenades inside, surrounded the houses with machine-guns, and set them on fire from all sides. Any persons who tried to get out were killed. People in flames ran to the windows. Nobody could escape from the fire; they were all burnt alive. It was a miracle if someone escaped. I know of one woman who jumped from the second storey and thus succeeded in saving her life. The front entrance was full of the bodies of those who had tried to escape from the flames. I saw among them women with babies at the breast. The houses were completely surrounded, and I suppose there must have been about 2,000 people living in them. No one came out alive unless by miracle, as in the case of the woman I have mentioned above".

Evacuation of the inhabitants

Record No. 1:

(Editors' note: Evacuation from Elektoralna Street, August 7, 1944, through the Wola suburb. Fragment concerning Wola.)

Walking through Elektoralna Street was difficult, as it was strewn with debris, and pieces of burning wood. From Chlodna Street onwards we were awe-struck by the incredible destruction. To the right every house had been burnt; to the left they were burning like gigantic torches. It sometimes seemed as though it was one great wall of fire. Our personal experiences, driven as we were like cattle, haunted by fear, facing endless danger from the continuous shooting among the ruins, and the huge fires — took on terrible unearthly dimensions. The Germans did not for a moment give a thought to the marching columns of defenceless people. They did not stop the fight. Sometimes, when it was too difficult to proceed, we stopped

and then the Germans approached and robbed us of our valuables. I lost my watch in this way. The officers and soldiers selected from among us people whose looks they did not like, and proceeded to make a thorough search in the most brutal way, very often kicking and abusing us. At some places they stood in rows on both sides — Germans to right of us, Germans to left of us — abusing us and calling us thieves and bandits.

"The procession, marching slowly from St. Charles Borromeo's Church to Zelazna Street, suffered terrible maltreatment and even torture. I dragged myself through these streets helping to carry bundles and bags. For a time I carried a little girl, Basia, two years old, in my arms. The child had lost both father and mother. The attitude of the women was deeply touching. Grave and obstinate, only paying attention to their children and bundles, they marched on like soldiers, taking care not to expose the little ones to danger. During the whole time, that is, until we reached Zelazna Street, where the women were separated from us, I heard not a single complaint, no bitter weeping, no begging for help. The women were bent under the weight of their bundles and travelling bags, and some also carried babies or small children in their arms. There were moments when the heat from the burning houses made our progress quite impossible. The wind blew up clouds of biting smoke which hid everything. Suddenly when we were at a very difficult point and in immediate danger of fire and shots, an air raid began. Panic and chaos spread among the raging Germans, and there was an awful tumult, everyone being in fear of immediate death.

"We left behind us in the streets all the sick, aged and crippled. I repeatedly saw trembling old women, decrepit old men and sick people, quite stony in their indifference and exhaustion, who, being literally pushed out of our ranks, remained sitting on the heaps of stone and rubble. No one heeded them. The sight of these people, amid all the unspeakable horrors,

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remains in my memory as a picture of the uttermost misery.

"I also saw in several places in Zelazna Street corpses of murdered people, lying in the streets. They could not have been victims of bombing or of stray shots, for they lay in groups.

"In Zelazna Street the women and the children were separated from the men. The women took nearly all the baggage with them. It was a most painful sight, firstly because of the terrible exhaustion of the women who, notwithstanding, undertook to carry the baggage, and secondly because of their uncertainty about the fate of their dearest ones, fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons.

"The Germans pushed us (the men) to the right side of Chlodna Street and led us through Wolska Street under the walls of burnt houses, treating us all as if we were murderers, bandits and incendiaries. They ordered us first of all to keep our hands up. Every moment, Germans with guns at the ready jumped at us, with insults, blows and shouts, without any reason whatsoever. The most dreadful thing was that we expected to be shot at any moment. Machine guns were aimed at us every few minutes to make us hurry or when we were ordered to re-form the procession. When we saw before us the barrels of guns, revolvers or machine-guns, we hesitated, turned our backs on the soldiers, and huddled closer to the walls as if death could thus be avoided. We were close to it. There were so many moments of immediate danger during our march that I do not even remember passing many parts of Wolska Street to St. Stanislaus Church.

"From Zelazna Street onwards the Germans began to rob us completely, as a rule when we had stopped, or were near barricades. They took everything from us. Not to speak of my watch, I lost all the small objects I had in my pockets, including my scissors, electric torch and even a box of matches. I saw the Germans taking purses and money from the group nearest to me, and as for documents and papers, they ostentatiously threw them away in the street. Persons who spe-

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cially displeased the Germans were ordered to hold up their hands very high; they were forced to throw away even the smallest baggage. The Germans snatcked off sur hat's or caps.

"I tried several times to get in touch with the furious Germans in order to know what fate was awaiting us. I also tried a few times to save my things, but I do not remember any other answer but "Waaa?" "Looos" and so on. Inarticulate, animal roars.

"The attitude of our men was wonderful. A uniform, massive group, like one body, flowing like a stream of lava through the street, in stony silence, stubborn, obstinate, without any begging, any cries, or any manifestation of fear or anxiety.

"Our group of several hundred men was pushed on to a spot situated between St. Stanislaus' Church and an unplastered house. It was, as we afterwards found, a police station. Here the last robbery took place. We were forced to drop everything we had in our hands. Before my eyes they tore a coat from the shoulders of an old man; and the two soldiers busy at this task casually remarked "So and so, he won't need this any more". A heap of suit-cases, bundles, and things of all sorts lay near the place into which they pushed us.

"They drove us through the entrance door and up to the first floor. It was probably an unfinished Polish school-building.

"I found myself with about 100 men in an empty room about 5 metres (16 feet) square. It was somewhere about 3 p. m. My companions in misfortune proudly displayed the small objects they had succeeded in keeping. Somebody drew a watch from his boot, another had succeeded in hiding his penknife. An old man pulled out a piece of bread from his breast pocket. We divided this into tiny pieces, and these again into crumbs and shared them among us. When I got a bit, I shared it with my nearest companions and felt strangely touched. It was a sort of collective Communion, and the association and feeling were so strong that we all felt it the same.

"We suffered very much from lack of water. Someone found a fire-bucket in the passage, but it was empty; the water had probably been already drunk.

"We were forbidden to leave the room. Every few minutes new groups were brought in. We saw that in the adjoining rooms, in the passage and on the staircase, still more people were packed.

"We were still very strongly under the impression of the experiences we had undergone and full of fear as to our fate. When they drove us to this empty room we were sure that our end had come; that they would barricade the house and throw hand-grenades into it, or shoot us all and then set fire to the building.

"Our depression increased as every few minutes a drunken gendarme came to us and made such speeches as: "You are all Communists; you will be all shot to-morrow". After having threatened and insulted us, cursed us, and called us names, such as "revolutionaries" or "insurgents", he would leave the room. This man terrified us absolutely. He would then stagger down the stairs, but we had had hardly time to breathe when up he climbed again and began the same sort of talk.

"One of the gendarmes at last allowed us to bring in some water. Evening came. Houses were burning in our neighbourhood. The heat of the fire and the smoke reached our room, making it hardly possible to breathe. The sound of explosions and shots coming from the town and the monstrous red glow of the flames completed the horror of our situation. We spent the night lying down one on top of another. Some slept.

"In the morning of August 8 they drove us out of the house again like cattle, with our hands up. We learned after some time that they were taking us to the Western Station and were going to send us from there to the Reich to work."

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Living barricades of Poles.

Record No. 117:

"On August 7, at 9 p. m., they hunted us out of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry building, No. 2, Elektoralna Street. There were several hundreds of us, driven here from various burning houses. They drove us through the cellars of the Ministry. In the passage, a German dragged me aside and tried to violate me, but after a moment he chose a new victim from another group. Wanting to get rid of me, he took out his revolver and aimed it at my forehead. At this moment someone else passed, and he ran after that person, shooting. I took advantage of this and ran up to the Ministry of Finance, and then through the burning streets to No. 5, Solna Street, where they kept us the whole night until 11 the next morning. They then robbed us of all our watches and valuables, and drove us on through Mirowski Square and Elektoralna Street towards the suburb of Wola. In the Square I saw huge bomb-craters, and also burning corpses. The streets all round were on fire. At the intersection of Chlodna and Wolska Streets, and Towarowa Street, and Kercelli Place we stopped. From Kercelli Place the Insurgents were firing towards Towarowa Street. The Germans who were going into the fighting stopped us and made of us a living barricade, under threats of being shot, they ordering us to lie down across the street from one side to the other. With our backs turned to the Insurgents, we knelt or crouched and the Germans placed themselves on the ground behind us, or knelt on one knee, firing over our heads towards Kercelli Place. There were 23 of us including (two children), mostly young women. It is difficult to describe what we felt during the two hours the fighting lasted. We were all prepared to die and said the Rosary aloud. Bullets whistled over our heads, or past our ears. The noise of the German guns nearly deafened us. As

if by some miracle, the bullets only hit the Germans. When the first German fell we were paralysed with fear. My mother told me: "If I am shot remember not to shed one tear; do not complain, preserve the dignity of a Polish woman. Show no weakness in their presence". Only the children wept bitterly and were greatly afraid.

"The Germans were bewildered by the fact that only they were falling. They ordered the men to drag the bodies aside. We thought they would take their revenge on us. Stupefied and astonished they looked towards the Insurgent posts, and then at our quiet, resigned attitude; and the children clinging to their mothers.

"At last, they let us go."

Record No. 247:

"On August 7, 1944, by order of the SS people from the entire town district were compelled to leave their houses, which were at once set on fire. We went in crowds of several thousands, driven and pushed by SS-men. When anyone fell, struck by a rifle-butt, those who wanted to help were struck likewise. We went through Bednarska Street and Krakowskie Przedmiescie, towards Trebacka Street. On Marshal Square the men were separated from the women; people wept and despaired. In the Saxon Garden shots were heard from the Market Place. The insurgents were firing. The SS-men began to make living barricades of us. They ordered us to lie down, beat and pushed us. Soon a rampart of living bodies was formed. People wept and cursed, but the SS-men began to fire from behind it.

"The firing stopped. We went forward again under an escort of SS-men. The Ukrainians robbed us of our watches and valuables, and tore our paper money into pieces. On the Zelazna Brama Place we saw near the Market Hall a pile of suit-cases and trunks. Whoever had a good suit-case had to

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give it up, and it was added to the heap. We saw motor-trucks coming to take away our belongings.

"We continued our march. A car stopped and some SS-officers got out. They looked attentively at the passers-by, took from our ranks three pretty young girls, the two sisters R. and an unknown girl, and drove off. The girls cried and tried to escape from their caresses. An old woman fell. An SS-officer shot her through the back of the head. Again curses were heard; the spirit of revolt and thirst for revenge surged in the hearts of thousands of people.

"In the church at Wola they stole our remaining belongings. All young girls were detained, even those of not more than 12 or 13. We older women were taken on with the children in the direction of the Western Station and then by train to Pruszkow, where they shut us up in a huge, dark, damp factory hall ankle-deep in mud. Moaning was heard in the darkness; a woman gave birth to a child without any help, and without a drop of water. A woman-doctor was among us, but what could she do without instruments, water, or light. She had only matches. The child was born dead.

"At the other end of the hall an old woman lay dying. Several people recited prayers for the dying, while others sat listlessly, absolutely broken, and others again thought of how to escape.

"At daybreak they let us out of the hall. We went on. There were several thousands of us, men, women and children. The SS-men fired over our heads. They took us to the station. We started hungry and thirsty on our journey to an unknown destination. At wayside stations Polish people gave us coffee, bread and tomatoes."

Record No. 71:

"When I was wounded and in hospital, about the middle of August (I do not remember the exact date), a group of 20 or 30 men and women were driven in. They were dreadfully burnt.

They had been evacuated from the shelters under some houses in Wolska Street. When they had been in the streets, Vlassov's men threw inflammable liquid over them and drove them among the burning houses. Their clothes at once caught fire, especially the women's light dresses, and several of them could go no further. The others struggled on terribly burnt. As they could not walk any further, they were taken to the hospital. Their sufferings were awful; the eyes of some were burnt out, faces were burnt, others had open wounds on the whole body. Only one-third of these victims survived; the others died after inhuman suffering."

Burning corpses.

Record No. 506:

"I was taken from Dlugosz Street (as a civilian) at 6 a. m. on August 6, 1944, and led to Sokolowska Street to the so-called *Arbeitskommando* head-quarters. Next day I volunteered for work with 50 other thinking that in this way I should be better off. We were sent to a house opposite St. Adalbert's Church in Wolska Street, where about six hundred bodies of men, women and children were lying in heaps. Near by were a few dozen more, which we added to the heap. Then we went to No. 60, Wolska Street, where, on both sides of the courtyard, lay the bodies of more than 100 men, as far was we could judge, victims of a mass execution. In the garden of this same house we found in a thicket the bodies of more than a dozen women, children, and babies, shot through the back of the head. We carried out from the house at the corner of Plocka and Wolska Street (a large yellow house) several dozens of bodies of men, women and children, partly burnt, who had been shot through the back of the head. From a house in

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Plocka Street, between Wolska and Gorczewska Streets, we carried out about 100 bodies. In one of the houses we found the half-burnt body of a man, holding two children in the arms. When we returned to No. 60, Wolska Street, we made a wooden platform on which we laid the dead; and then we cleared the ground of all traces of the German crimes, such as documents, clothes, or linen, which we placed on the pile of dead, sprinkled with petrol, and set alight. While we were thus burning the bodies, a drunken SD officer arrived in a car. He picked out three men of about 20 or 30 from a group of refugees passing by. He shot them through the back of the head in the course of a "friendly" conversation. After having murdered the first man he ordered us to throw him on the burning pyre before the eyes of the remaining two.

"On Aug. 8, 1944, they led us to the yard of the "Ursus" works in Wolska Street. The whole courtyard, about 50 metres (55 yards) square was strewn with dead bodies so thickly that it was impossible to pass without treading on them. Half of them were of women with children, often with infants. All the bodies bore traces of robbery. Their position showed that they had each been murdered separately and in an especially bestial way. The number of bodies burnt there amounted, as far as I could estimate, to more than six hundred. Their clothes and suit-cases showed them to be refugees. When we were transporting bodies from neighbouring houses I found a great number of corpses in a flooded cellar in a house at the corner of Skierniewicka Street. We could not get out more than a few dozen of them, as the water was too high. I suppose they had been thrown in here after having been murdered in the courtyard, where we still found more than a dozen bodies. Then they took us to the "Franaszek" works in Wolska Street, where we burnt in the same way as before about the same number of bodies as in the "Ursus" works, mostly of women and children. On one of the following days they took us to work in Sowinski Park, where again the bodies were

mostly those of women and children; I found even pregnant women. The position of these bodies lying in a row seemed to be proof of a mass execution. We then burnt more than a thousand on two pyres. They made us search the bodies and give all valuables to the SD-men. As to paper money, we were ordered to burn it, together with all other evidence of the crime. We worked there one whole day. Next day they took us to No. 24, Wolska Street (the „Wenecja" playground), where we brought bodies from the sector of Wolska Street between Mlynarska and Karolkowa and burnt over two hundred. On the same day we burnt about 200 corpses at No. 4, Wolska Street. In a house at the corner of Wronia and Chlodna streets we burnt about fifty bodies which were there lying half-burnt. I then saw a non-commissioned SD-officer murder an old woman of about 80 who was passing along Chlodna Street, and whose body we added to the burning pyre. In the Machlejd factory building we threw bodies brought from neighbouring houses into the burning cellars. All next day we worked on the burning of bodies in the grounds of St. Lazarus's Hospital in Wolska Street. We found the bodies of the murdered patients and of the staff in the hospital wards in beds, on the staircases, in the passages and in the cellars. From what I saw there, I suppose that all the patients and the whole of the staff were murdered. In most cases their bodies had been burnt in the cellars. After having partly burnt the bodies in St. Lazarus's Hospital, we also burnt many in houses the addresses of which I do not remember. After returning to the hospital grounds, we found there the bodies of forty newly murdered men. On one of the next days we burnt about one hundred corpses in the sector of Mlynarska Street between Wolska and Gorczewska Street; about one hundred also in the courtyard of the Michler works and about the same number in Ptasia Street. Towards evening we removed all traces of crime from the grounds of St. Lazarus's Hospital. Then I fell ill and ceased working on the burning of bodies.

"From the reports of my companions in other working parties I conclude that this work of wiping out all traces of mass murder lasted until the middle of September, 1944. The work was organised as follows. A gang for the burning of bodies contained one hundred men, divided into two lots of fifty, strictly segregated from the remainder of the *Arbeitskommando*. The work was done under the supervision of fifteen SD-men under the command of an SD-officer. Part of the men prepared and arranged the pyre, and the others brought the bodies from the neighbouring houses. I was informed at this time that an order to stop the executions had been given on the morning of Aug. 6, 1944. During this period (I cannot give the exact date) I saw the bodies of about 20 priests. At various times I saw individual old men and priests being murdered. For instance, in Zelazna Street an SD-man shot down two sick old women.

"After the pyres on the "Wenecja" play-ground had burnt out, the ashes were thrown into the air-raid-protection trenches there. Our party of 50 men worked from Aug. 6 to 15 at the intersection of Chlodna and Wolska Streets. The second party worked in the sector of Gorczewska Street with cross-roads where there is an intersection, but I have no precise information about their work.

"I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the dates I have given above, and the number of burnt bodies is only approximate, but it must certainly have been not less but rather more than I have said."

Crimes at Marymont

Record No. 189:

At the time of the Rising I was in my own house, No. 29, Maria Kazimiera Street, Marymont. On Sep. 14, 1944, the bombing of Marymont greatly increased, and at about

2 o'clock the adjoining houses began to burn. The Insurgents retreated from our part of the city, and only the civilian population was left.

I, with my husband and my parents-in-law and other inhabitants of our house, about 30 of us altogether, were in the shelter in the garden. From there I saw German soldiers and soldiers from the army of General Vlassov knocking at a house at the back of ours — No. 2/4 Dembinski Street. When the door opened, the inhabitants began to file out slowly (men, women and children); a German soldier, standing a few steps from the front door, shot them through the back of the head. In this way about a hundred people were killed. The rest were driven into the field. Shortly after we heard shots coming from the direction in which they had been taken. (Among them was one priest). From the owner of this house I learnt afterwards that in this group the men had been separated from the women and all shot. Later I saw Vlassov's men rush into a school building at No. 21, Maria Kazimiera Street, and order all those who were there (many people) to go out into the yard. Meanwhile our house began to burn; we came out of our shelter and went into the adjoining school, from the windows of which we saw further incidents. The Germans ordered people who were in the school yard to go out into Maria Kazimiera Street, where they were joined by others from No. 21. Some refused to go and began to turn back; then the soldiers fired at them from all sides, killing them all. Among those who had been previously driven from the school was a woman with a child in a perambulator. She was killed with the others in Maria Kazimiera Street. A few moments afterwards I saw a soldier come over to the perambulator and shoot the child.

We stayed in this school till the next day. On Sep. 15, 1944, a tank drove up to it and opened fire, destroying the upper floors. We, with the exception of my husband, who went I do not know where, then returned to the shelter at No. 21. For

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three consecutive nights I tried to find my husband. While looking for him I saw the corpses of the people who had been killed in front of No. 2/4, Dembinski Street. About a hundred lay in disorder: men, women and children. Among them I recognised my brother-in-law, his son, and many acquaintances, former occupants of Number 2/4, Dembinski Street.

Record No. 17/II:

On Aug. 1, 1944, I went to Zoliborz to buy some food, but owing to the outbreak of the Rising could not return to Praga where I lived. For several weeks I stayed with casual acquaintances. On Aug. 2, I went to Marymont, where I stayed at No. 29, Maria Kazimiera Street, which at that moment was in the hands of the Insurgents. On September 14 the Germans began to put down the Rising in that section in the following way: About 20 tanks came from the direction of Bielany and opened fire on various houses. The Insurgents retreated from the territory of Zoliborz without fighting.

Thus the tanks came without difficulty to No. 29, Maria Kazimiera Street. Several SS-men rushed into the courtyard throwing hand grenades into the cellars and in this way forced the frightened civilians to come out.

Then we all were told to leave. I was in the uniform of a railway worker. One of the Germans pulled off my cap and beat me for no reason. We were ordered to cross the street to a house which had previously been burnt. There were 32 of us in all, including men, women, small children and even an infant 6 months old. Here we were taken into a burnt-out flat, and ordered to kneel down with our hands up facing our persecutors. A machine gun was placed before us.

The execution began at 2 p. m. Several series of shots were fired into our group. I got a superficial wound in my skull. I fell; the corpses of two young men immediately fell on me. While lying I still got shots in my left arm, hand, fingers and

feet. When the execution was over SS-men came back three times, killing the wounded and throwing two grenades each time. Owing to this I got pieces of shrapnel in my fingers.

So I lay for four hours, till 6 p. m. Then a WH soldier came in, probably to loot the place of execution, and seeing that I moved, helped me to free myself from the corpses, comforting me and telling me not to be frightened any more. He also pulled out two women who had been saved by a miracle, though their hands were shattered, and two children who had been saved because their parents had protected them with their own bodies. The soldier who had helped us put us under the care of a wounded soldier, also from the WH, who conducted us to an evacuation point at Zoliborz (in CIWF). Here I parted from my companions in misfortune.

Executions in the Market Halls

Record No. 23/II.

During the Rising, on leaving the house where I lived, No 30 Ogrodowa Street, I found myself in a shelter of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, No 2 Elektoralna Street. This was on August 7, 1944. In the shelter there were several hundred people, mostly women and children. In the afternoon of this day, after the Insurgents had retreated from Elektoralna Street, a German outpost was set in front of the gateway of the Ministry. About 9 o'clock in the evening 2 gendarmes entered the shelter and ordered all the men to go out. The soldier who stood on guard assured us that we were only going to work. We were led out three by three (we were about 150 men) to Mirowski Square, among the buildings of the two Market Halls. Here we were ordered to remove the corpses, scores of which were lying on the ground, and after that, rubble from the gutters and the

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roadway. There were about a hundred Poles on the square when we came, all busy cleaning it up, and some hundreds of German gendarmes, who behaved very brutally: beating the Poles, kicking them, and calling them *Polnische Banditen*. At a certain moment they stopped our work and ordered those who were not Poles to step forward. One man who had White-Russian documents did so, and was immediately released. After an hour and a half's work, the gendarmes ordered us to form threes. I found myself in the second rank. We were all made to stand with our hands up. An old man in the front rank, who could not hold his hands up any longer, was cruelly struck in the face by a gendarme. After 10 minutes five rows of three were marched off under the escort of five gendarmes armed with tommy guns to the Market Hall in Chlodna Street. By chance I heard the names of two of the gendarmes who shouted to each other, Lipinski and Walter. When we entered the building after passing two gates I saw, almost in the centre of the Hall, a deep hole in which a fire was burning; it must have been sprinkled with petrol because of the dense black smoke. We were put under a wall on the left side of the entrance near a lavatory. We stood separately with faces turned to the wall and hands up.

After a few minutes I heard a series of shots and I fell. Lying on the ground I heard the moans and groans of people lying close to me and also more shots. When the firing ceased I heard the gendarmes counting those who lay on the ground; they only counted up to thirteen. Then they began to look for two more who were missing. They found a father and son hiding in the adjoining lavatory. They brought them out, and I heard the voice of the boy shouting "Long live Poland", and then shots and moans. Some time later I heard the voices of approaching Poles; cautiously I lifted my head and saw the gendarmes standing beside the hole filled with fire and Poles carrying the corpses and

throwing them into it. Their work brought them nearer to me. I then crept into the lavatory and concealed myself behind a partition which formed the roof of the lavatory. Sitting there I heard firing near by and the shouts of Germans from the direction of the hole. At a certain moment another Pole who had escaped from below through the lavatory found himself beside me. He was doctor Jerzy Łakota, who worked in the Child Jesus Hospital.

We sat up there for many hours. The whole time we heard the crackling of the burning corpses in the hole and of the fire itself. Besides, we heard series of shots coming from the other side (nearer to Zimna Street). Dr. Łakota told me that after a volley he had fallen along with the others. The gendarmes came over to see if he was still alive, and beat him brutally; but he pretended to be dead. I might add that when I fell after the volley, I saw a gendarme examining those lying on the ground; those who were still alive he shot with his revolver. I had succeeded in escaping before this. At about 2 o'clock in the night we descended and went out into the street through the already empty Hall, in which the fire was still burning, and succeeded in getting to Krochmalna Street.

Record No. 33/II:

On August 7, 1944, I was in the cellar of a house in Elektoralna Street in Warsaw. This day, at dusk, some German soldiers arrived on the premises and ordered all men to get out of the cellar, and to dismantle the barricades within two hours. I obeyed and went out of the cellar with about fifty other men. The soldiers took us under escort to Zelazna Brama Square, and then to the place near Mirowska Street which is opposite the small square between the two Market Halls. On the pavement of Mirowska Street there lay about 20 dead. We were ordered to carry these corpses from the pavement

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of Mirowska Street to the little square between the Halls. With other men I carried the corpses and noticed while doing so that all of then were of more or less middle-aged men. (After carrying these corpses we were ordered to remove the barricade which was across the tram line from Żelazna Brama Square to Żelazna Street. Having removed part of this barricade and thus enabled tanks to pass, we were brought in the direction of Żelazna Street, where we were halted, and ordered to put up our hands. We were asked several times if there were no *Volks*-or *Reichsdeutsche* among us. Next we were searched; everything of value, such as rings, watches and cigarettes, was taken from us. After being searched we were left standing on the same spot for about an hour and a half. Not far from us were groups of soldiers, in all about 200 men; our prayers for release were answered by the soldiers with laughter and derision. They spoke German, Russian and Ukrainian. One of them told us repeatedly that we should be killed at any moment. Then (we were standing in rows of three) the first three rows were driven into the Market Hall which is nearer to Żelazna Street. Shortly afterwards I heard a series of shots. Then followed the next three rows. I was in the second, or perhaps in the centre of the third. At the moment when we were directly in front of the entrance, one of the soldiers who was escorting us fired, and instantly my neighbour on the left fell to the ground before me, blocking my way; I stumbled and fell, but got up immediately and rejoined my companions. I did not notice what happened to the body over which I had stumbled. After rising, when I reached my companions, who were then entering the hall by the second inside gate, I saw a door leading to the right and immediately ran through it. I saw a hall, entered it, and noticed stairs leading upwards. It was already dark, but the darkness was lighted up by the reflection of the fires all round me. I thought my escape had been

observed, as I heard a shout behind me, but no shots were fired. I ran to a gallery where some of the wooden structure was burning and there I stayed. During that time I heard separate shots from the interior of the hall. After some time, I looked down from the gallery into the Hall and saw a big round hole, about 6—7 metres (22 feet) across, in the floor of the Hall. In this hole a big fire was burning; its flames rose several metres above the level of the floor. I also noticed that the soldiers were leading a man to the edge of the hole. I saw this man making the sign of the Cross, and then I heard a shot, and saw him fall into the fire. I might add that this shot was fired in such a way that the soldier put his gun to the man's neck and fired. Later I saw many such scenes. I noticed that when the shot was fired the man did not fall at once, but only after a few seconds. Having watched several murders of this kind I could not look any more, but heard many more shots and moans, which grew weaker and weaker, or even human howls. I supposed that they came from those who had fallen into the fire and were still alive. From the number of shots I took the impression that all those who had been brought with me from the cellar of No. 2, Elektoralna Street were shot. I stayed up in the gallery for some time longer (at least an hour), till the moment the shooting and voices stopped. Then, unnoticed, I ran through the Small Ghetto in the direction of Grzybowska Street, and afterwards came to Zlota Street, where I stayed for a month.

Crimes at Praga

Record No. 23/II:

On Aug. 24, 1944, a gray-green car came to the corner of the Jewish Cemetery at Praga from the direction of Nowe

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Brodno, opposite Goledzinow. Four Gestapo men got out of it and began to dig a hole. The car drove away leaving behind two of the Gestapo-men. After 10 minutes it returned bringing four people, who were led to the recently dug grave and murdered by revolver shots through the back of the head. Among them were a very tall priest, a girl of about 12, a woman and a man dressed in black, who may have been a priest.

After they had been buried the car drove away, but in a short time returned with the same number of people as before: three men and one woman, who met the same fate. After they too had been buried in this grave the car drove away. This was at 1.30 p. m.

On Aug. 25 at the same hour the same car returned bringing four young men, who dug their own grave. Then they were ordered to lie in the hole, and in this position they were shot. This grave is about 400 metres (450 yards) from the first one.

On Aug. 26 — it was a Saturday — about 10 o'clock in the morning they again came and dug a larger number of graves and this time ordered passers-by to help. At 12 o'clock they drove off, returning at three with four men who had to dig graves. Then they went away, taking these men with them. There was no execution that day. On Sunday, Aug. 27, a big dark-red lorry brought 15 people; they were led out in groups of five. In the first group were three men and two women.

When they came to the graves I heard a cry and two men began to run away. One of them was killed on the spot; the other succeeded in running about 50 metres (55 yards) when a revolver-bullet struck him; they were both thrown into the hole. The rest of the people having heard their cries, did not want to get out of the car, but they were driven out by force and shot immediately at the gate. While one party

of Germans was burying the dead the other went away and brought about 13 more people, who met the same fate. There were among them old men, women and young boys. This day about 30 persons were shot.

Crimes in the centre of the city

Record No. 8/II:

At the moment of the outbreak of the Rising I was at No. 62, Marszałkowska Street. I tried to return home to No. 3, Staroscinska Street, and went from one shelter to another in different houses in the vicinity of the Redeemer Square (Plac Zbawiciela). This part of the city was then in Polish hands. On the evening of Aug. 4 I found myself together with my brother-in-law in the Parish House of the Church of the Redeemer, 37 Marszałkowska Street. On Aug. 5 some Gestapo-men entered the court-yard of this house; before the house (in the street) they set up a machine gun. They ordered all of us to leave. In the Parish House and in the cellars were about 50 people — priests, church staff, inhabitants of adjoining houses, and casual passers by. They were mostly elderly men and women. There were no Insurgents among us. We all went into the court-yard. The Germans drove us to the opposite side of Marszałkowska Street, where they separated the men from the women and ordered us all to lie down on the pavement; men first, but some of the women too. When we reached the spot, about 80 men and a large number of women were already on the ground. Fighting was in progress. The Insurgents were firing from Mokotowska Street and August 6 Street. After 10 minutes a WH soldier came to me with a revolver and ordered me in Polish to "come to work"; he

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said the same to my brother-in-law and to another young man who was lying near us. He ordered us to follow him in the direction of Litewska Street. Another Ukrainian soldier with his gun at the ready walked behind us. At the corner of Litewska Street they ordered us to cross Marszalkowska Street. Here under the wall of S. Anc's chemist's shop I saw about a dozen corpses lying. They were all of men, and had machine- gun- shot wounds. The soldier told us to throw them into the cellar. We began to do so through a window in Marszalkowska Street facing Oleander Street. When we had finished, we stopped, not knowing what to do next. Then the Ukrainian ordered me to push in a corpse, which had not quite fallen down into the cellar. When I approached the window I heard a shot behind me; I turned and saw our third companion fall on the ground, and the Ukrainian standing with his revolver pointed at my brother-in-law. I then jumped into the cellar, holding the corpse of the murdered man, and fell on a heap of corpses lying under the window.

I then heard many shots fired in the direction of the cellar and German and Ukrainian voices. I thought that they were shooting at me. I hid under the window among the corpses; there were about 30 of them. I lay there for several hours. At twilight I heard steps approaching under the window and the sound as of running water. Some drops fell on my head and I recognised the smell of petrol. After a moment I heard the hissing sound of fire; the heap of corpses among which I was began to burn. I heard a Ukrainian say "Timov, I have started the fire".

Then I crept from the window to the centre of the cellar. By the light of the burning fire I saw under the window in the direction of Oleander Street a pile of burnt human bones, and ashes. I went into the adjoining smaller cellar. There, under the window which looked on to Marszalkowska Street, I saw about 20 corpses of men only. I then

retreated to a cellar on one side of the court-yard. There, in the darkness, I saw a man, Władysław Tymiński. He told me that the Germans had taken him from No 19, Marszalkowska Street, and had brought him to Anc's shop from Oleander Street and there ordered him to jump on to the burning staircase. When he did so they had fired at him, but missed. This had happened one or two days before I found myself in the cellar of the chemist's shop. We spent the night in one of the cellars. Next morning, Aug. 6, we met another man, Antoni Dudek, in the court-yard; he told us that a Ukrainian had fired at him in Oleander Street in front of the chemist's shop. Dudek fell unconscious; after a while he felt the Ukrainian dragging him in the direction of the chemist's shop. When he moved the Ukrainian threw him through the window into the burning cellar in Oleander Street. This was on August 2 or 3, 1934.

We three went together to the sixth floor. All the flats, with the exception of two, were burnt out. From these two we collected food, and then hid ourselves on the sixth floor. There we met a fourth companion, Jan Latwinski. We stayed in this flat till Nov. 13, 1944. All this time we heard sounds of the fighting which was going on, and of various executions. Several times we heard voices of Poles shouting "long live Poland", then separate gun shots followed. One day we heard steps on the stairs and German voices; after a while we saw fire coming out of a flat which had not yet been burnt. After the Capitulation the house in which we were was twice mined by the Germans . I saw mines being laid on the site of the chemist's shop in Oleander Street; we then hid ourselves under the staircase. The explosion destroyed the ceilings of the lower floors of the house; but the upper floors remained intact. We left this house on Nov. 13, 1944, creeping through the city by night.

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Executions in the Opera-House

Record No. 19/II:

On Aug. 9, 1944, at ten o'clock in the morning, about twenty SS-men with revolvers rushed shouting into the courtyard of our house in Trebacka Street and ordered all the people in the flats and cellars to go out into the yard. Our street had been completely in German hands since the beginning of the Rising and there had been no military activity in it whatever. The inhabitants had stayed quietly in their flats or cellars. We came down men, women and children. In one of the flats a paralysed old woman of about 70 named Ropelewska was left behind. Several SS-men rushed into her flat after all the inhabitants had left and set fire to her mattress; seeing this her son carried her into the yard. When we were in the yard SS-men rushed into the flats and set them on fire one after the other. Then they took us into the next yard, at No. 2, Marshall Foch Street. As Mrs. Ropelewska could not walk one of the armed SS-men shot her before our eyes.

At No. 2, Foch Street, the men were separated from the women. Then we went from one house to another (Nos 2, 4, 5, 7, Foch Str.). We were brought through cellars and court-yards into the Opera House; women and children into the cellars and men to the first floor. Among the men were my father, 69, and my husband, a student, 26 years old. What happened to the men I was told later by a schoolboy, Jerzy Szajkowski, who had escaped death. The men were led upstairs to the first floor of the Opera House, their *Kennkarten* were taken from them, and they were divided into groups: 1) Those who had been working in German institutions, 2) foreigners, 3) the remainder. Later this third group was brought out through the doors of the boxes and killed by shots through the back of the head. The corpses

fell on the stage. Thus my father and husband were murdered. The number of people killed then amounted to 500. The women, of whom there were several hundred, were divided into groups: 1) above 60, 2) women with children, 3) the rest. I succeeded, with 30 other women, in escaping from the last group. We came to the church at Wola, from where we were taken to Pruszkow. I was recently in the ruins of the Opera House. The remains of the burnt corpses are still lying there. They were murdered on August 9. I saw bones, hair, teeth, and the remains of clothing, shoes and documents. I think some women were also shot there, because there were also remains of women's dresses, and I fear that this was not the only execution there.

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GERMAN LAW IN 'INCORPORATED' TERRITORY

VIII

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The association of two such incompatible concepts as those of legislation and crime would seem at first sight paradoxical. Nor is this strange, for in every-day life, where one is not so careful in the use of terms as lawyers are accustomed to be, the concept of legislation is identified, involuntarily, with that of law itself; the two coincide. On the other hand it is not necessary to be a lawyer to realize that crime is the antithesis of law, of which it is the direct violation, and that in fact it is the very embodiment of anarchy. Can law, then, be brought to the dock? Can law be identical with anarchy?

Our first impression of the logical contradiction would seem to be confirmed by the old proverb summum ius summa iniuria, 'the best law, the greatest injury', which was already a commonplace when quoted by Cicero (Off, 1, 10, 33): iam tritum sermone proverbium) at the beginning of our era.[1]) The logical snares in which our very title involves us would seem inescapable, and might discourage us at the outset of our inquiry.

Yet we must not allow them to do so, for the intangible, yet mighty, process of law which is going on at present, where the whole German system of 'law', so-called, along with its creators and executives, is arraigned before the tribunal of the civilized world, is too important for the future of that world for us to permit ourselves to be disheartened by the first difficulties and give up thinking of a problem which cannot be indifferent to any member of the civilized community, who shares the responsibility for its fate.

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[1]) Cf. the English saying: 'Hard cases make bad law.' (Tr.)

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We must, then, nowadays rise somewhat above the ordinary, every-day conception of law and right, and endeavour to perceive in it the values which give it moral justification for presuming to appear as judge when German legislation is at the bar.

In the ordinary interpretation 'legislation' is inseparably connected with 'law' and 'right'. This is because, in every-day life law shows itself, not in its homogeneous, abstract form, but differentiated into an incredible number of concrete enactments, statutes, regulations, court judgements, and administrative decisions. When the whole edifice is regarded from below, from the point of view of the individual, at the apex there appears only the State as the supreme authority, endowed with means of compulsion which enable it to realize all its demands. The plain citizen, who is conscious of his rights and knows the ascending grades, is capable of appealing from the decision of a lower authority to that of a higher, if that decision injures him and outrages his conception of right; he can even protest in Parliament against an enactment, if it is in conflict with the Constitution (supposing that to be written); but he is helpless when confronted by the final decision of the State, from which there is no appeal. He can then only suffer in silence, confining himself at the most to the assertion that in his private and subjective opinion the State has done a wrong.

In practice, accordingly, the broad masses of the human community have become convinced that the source of all law is the State, which by virtue of its sovereignty can regulate life within its own field at will. This conviction has been particularly strong in the minds of the Germans, who are peculiarly prone to rely on absolute authority. This view found its extreme expression in the national-socialist doctrine, which first identified the 'nation' with the 'State' *(der nationalsozialistische Volksstaat)*, and then subordinated the interest of the individual entirely to that of the nation *(du bist nichts, dein Volk ist alles)*. The worship of omnipotence and the State became in Germany little less than idolatry, and in this fact we find a partial solution of the psychological riddle propounded to the civilized world in the phenomenal readiness of hundreds and thousands of Germans to carry out every order given them by the leaders of the Nazi State, no matter how inhuman, no matter how degrading. They did not stay a moment to consider the legal and ethical propriety of those orders, but found quite sufficient justification for their zeal in the thought that they proceeded from the supreme German State authority, and that therefore all was right.

Is this argument correct? Does the sovereignty of the State really extend so far as to permit it to regulate life in its territory without regard for any scruples? Is law really nothing but a collection of enactments ordained by one or another State?

In the history of Law, which goes back as far as the history of Civilization in general, such a state of things is known to us only in the very earliest stages of development, contemporaneous with the dark ages of antiquity. Law as a completely unhampered activity on the part of the State can exist only in primitive States, cut off from outside influence. The moment such a State comes within the sphere of influence of some exterior source of culture and progress, its narrow, peculiar code of law begins to be modified in accordance with generally accepted civilized principles. The tendency is towards universal assimilation. Law is a product of social and spiritual culture, and it goes through the same process of development as this. As in other fields of material and spiritual culture, so here every advance in the development of legal thought, every forward step in the perfecting of the benefits which law confers, no matter in what country it is first taken, is sooner or later followed in contiguous States. State organisms are not isolated in hermetically sealed tubes. There is interaction and mutual penetration at a very early stage in the relations between

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cultures, through the mediation of travellers of various kinds: envoys, merchants, and sailors, who transplant to their own countries every new thing which they observe and consider may be useful. As time goes on this process becomes ever more rapid. The development of means of communication shortens distances and strengthens mutual influence, and with the acceptance of the principle of division of labour the world acquires more and more the character of a homogeneous organism, in which particular States no longer constitute detached and self-existent parts, but resemble organs with differentiated functions. As time goes on the sum of cultural acquest which is common to the world at large grows ever greater. In the domain of law there have been two chief factors which have facilitated and hastened its shaping: Roman Law and the Christian Church.

The former of these, which at a very early stage of its development has created a separate flexible and informal system, the "Law of Nations" (ius gentium), even after the fall of Rome subdued the medieval world afresh by virtue of its innate value, and became for it a treasure-house of jurisprudence from which all nations drew freely. In its steps followed the Christian Church, heir to the universalist traditions of the Roman Empire, and sooner or later every gain in the field of law was shared by all nations. Such achievements in the penal sphere as the abolition of special "qualified" punishments, or the reform of legal procedure by the abolition of torture and the introduction of the principle that both parties must be represented at a trial, gradually found their way into all the codes of the civilized world. So too in the sphere of political law the immortal achievements of the French Revolution embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man were accepted comparatively easily and quickly by the whole world. On the basis of the stock of legal assumptions common to the civilized world was laboriously built up a system of International Law, which, despite numerous disappointments, has been able to

raise many of those common concepts to the dignity of statutes, voluntarily agreed to by one State after another. Honourable stages in the growth of that Law have been marked by the Hague Convention concerning methods of waging war on land, the covenant of the League of Nations, valuable even if only as an expression of certain lofty tendencies, the Kellogg Pact of 1928 renouncing aggresive war, and finally the present organization called with so much hope the United Nations.

It is then an undoubted historical fact that in the present state of civilization, besides particular systems of norms or rules, differing one from another in details, there is a certain set of super-national legal principles, constituting a general human cultural achievement. Some of these are sanctioned by particular States in international agreements, and thus come to constitute the express provisions of International Law. Outside the limits of these, however, there extends a far wider field of legal principles, which in the course of history have so rooted themselves in the minds of particular nations that they have come to constitute the tacitly accepted norms or rules on which every internal system is based. The science of Comparative Law can always point to a large number of legal principles which are the common property and the common acquest of the whole civilized world: for example in civil law the concept of property, which exists everywhere; not, indeed, as meaning unlimited power over a thing, but power limited in every legislative system to a greater or lesser extent in the interest of the possessor's good-neighbourly relations as well as of the general good and social order. Similarly in the sphere of criminal law nowhere nowadays in the whole civilized world is recognition given either to the ancient principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth", or to the medieval one of collective or vicarious responsibility. Punishment is inflicted nowadays not in retaliation, nor for revenge, but in the interest of the community, and even sometimes in the true best interests of the transgressor himself. Everyone is answerable nowadays

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for his own acts; no longer, as in former times, are the kindred responsible for the deeds of a member, or father or wife for the misdeeds of son or husband. And in the sphere of State law for many decades the individual has been left a certain province into which the State does not penetrate: freedom of conscience is admitted, freedom of thought and of speech, inviolability of the home, and a share in the government of the country.

This is the lofty conception of law with which every State must reckon in its legislative activity. For State legislation is firstly a manifestation of the State's sovereign power over the territory subject to it. It is only then a manifestation of law when it remains in harmony with that general system of legal norms which the world at large has come to accept in the course of the laborious and sometimes bloody development of social and spiritual culture.

From this point of view, too, the legislative activity of every State, internally a manifestation of the mere sovereign power and omnipotence of the State, is subject externally to control and criticism by the — invisible, but indubitably existent — legal tribunal of the world. Nowadays its membership includes every lawyer who is conscious of belonging to the twentieth-century civilized community, and its jurors, who pronounce the verdict of guilt or innocence, comprise all civilized men; for in the soul of each one, albeit subconsciously, flickers the conviction of the existence and binding power of Law in the true meaning of the term, superior to the all-might of the State; of Law synonymous with Justice; of Law which gives to each one his deserts. Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens (Justice is a constant and perpetual inclination, giving his own human right to each). More than a millennium and a half has passed since the first utterance of those words, so great in their simplicity, yet they have lost nothing of their substance and are the creed of the thousands of lawyers throughout the world.

Before the tribunal of the conscience of the world stand the accused, the creators and leaders of the German Third Reich. One of the many and frightful instruments of crime produced in court by the prosecution is the German system of State legislation. It was forged by a handful of German politicians and lawgivers, but hundreds and thousands were its enthusiastic executants.

The proceedings in court are beginning.

We will proceed to examine the evidence.

A book was recently published entitled *Polska pod niemieckim prawem* (Poland under German Law), Publications of the Western Institute, Poznań, 1946, Vol. I, pt. 1: Studies on the German Occupation of Poland), the author of which, Karol Marian Pospieszalski, brings forward strict legal proof of the following facts: In 1939 the Germans after occupying Poland detached its western provinces, Pomerania, Great-Poland and Silesia, and some adjacent districts, such as those of Łódź and Ciechanów, and on the strength of a unilateral decision by Hitler, taken on October 26, 1939, incorporated them as an integral part in the German Reich. The Free City of Gdańsk (Dantzig) hat been similarly incorporated on the first day of the war. This territory (called by the Germans the *eingegliederte Ostgebiete)* comprised an area of 92,000 square kilometres (35,500 square miles), or almost a quarter of the whole area of Poland as it then was, and had, at the outbreak of war, about 9,600,000 inhabitants, of whom at most 700,000 were Polish citizens of German extraction. It was divided into three main party-administrative districts, whose governors, exercising vicarious authority on behalf of State and Party, *(Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter),* Forster in Pomerania, Greiser in Great-Poland, and Bracht in Silesia, were vested with extensive powers. Hence their policy frequently differed in details, but in fundamentals they always acted according to homogeneous principles marked out for them by the central authorities of the Reich. Polish law, previously obligatory in the

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territory, was abolished, firstly in the practice of the German lawyers, who from the very beginning, despite the first shy requirements of the German code, followed exclusively German law (with the one exception of the Polish valuation law of 1924, which they adopted for lack of corresponding provisions of their own). This state of things was regularized in 1940 and 1941. Nevertheless, German law, when introduced in the territory incorporated with the Reich, was applied only to the German population, and partially also to those classes of the Polish population who in course of time were given German rights. But there was no uniformity in the way the benefits of German law were conferred. At first, during the period of the Reich's greatest political and military successes (1939-41), only the 700,000 actual Germans were recognized as such. They had indeed Polish citizenship, but they had always avowed their German-ness, despite which they had enjoyed all the rights of free citizens guaranteed them by international treaties concerning the position of national minorities. The victories of the Allies at El Alamein and Stalingrad, turning-points in the history of the war, were likewise turning-points in the history of German nationality policy. For Germany then began to realize the danger of its very extensive fronts, insufficiently manned, and the possibility of the line in the east having to be withdrawn to Poland. Faced then with the absolute necessity for finding fresh reserves of man-power, and desirous of driving a wedge into the solidarity of the Polish community, it decided to extend the jurisdiction of the German law to further classes of people; and in March, 1942, it succeeded, by the use of every kind of brutal moral — and sometimes in extreme cases physical — pressure, and by the exploitation of the existing misery and distress, which threatened the Polish population with extinction, in inducing one-and-a-half to two millions of the latter to come over to its side. Their names were entered in the 'German national list', and thereby the character of quasi — Germans, Germans in name,

was conferred upon them. The list included all those who, here as in every border region, inhabited an area which was in constant dispute, and were in any way connected with Germans by extraction or marriage; or rather, not with Germans in the strict sense,but with Polish emigrants in Germany, who had gone there to find work, and lived mainly in the western industrial centres and in Berlin. Further, the endeavour was made to enroll as German all those Poles who, though not connected with Germany at all,might yet be useful acquisitions for it on racial grounds, or by virtue of their high social value *(der allgemeine menschliche Wert)*.

German law was however, extended to these new classes of the Polish population only in part. That is to say that all the obligations (such as military service, participation in German organizations of various kinds, and bringing up their children in the German spirit) were immediately and unconditionally laid upon them, while the rights and privileges were granted them only to a limited extent, in so far as was necessary to balance the duties. Their right to hold property was limited; their right to hold the more valued positions in the community was also limited, and they could not attain to membership of the Nazi party. Citizenship of the Reich was granted to them only conditionally and was revocable at any time within ten years if the candidate had not, in the opinion of the administrative authorities, fulfilled all his obligations. The fundamental rights conferred by German law were also granted by the Germans to small groups of foreign nationality (Ukrainians, White Russians, or Lithuanians) residing in incorporated territory.

All the rest of the native population of Poland, amounting to more than 9 millions before 1941, and after that date at least to 6 or 7 millions, were excluded from the operation of the general German code of laws and were governed by special ordinances applicable only to them.

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These ordinances from a formal point of view were very varied. There were no actual laws in the proper meaning of the word, passed by Parliament *(Gesetze)*, unless we include the law providing for the incorporation of Gdańsk (Dantzig) on Sep, 1, 1939. The lion's share of the whole mass consisted of decrees, ordinances, circulars and explanations *(Erlass, Verordnung, Anordnung, Bekanntmachung, Bescheid, Verfügung)*, issued by German authorities of various grades: by the Führer, the Council of Reich Defence *Ministerialrat für Reichsverteidigung)*, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Labour, particular Army leaders (especially in the early phase of the occupation), governors, party dignitaries, police, economic departments, chambers of physicians, and the the like. We have, then, a regular mosaic of ordinances, all the more difficult to grasp and to master, that, owing to the peculiar circumstances prevailing, the majority of them, and particularly the sterner ones, were not published in the normal way in the Reich Law Journal *(Reichsgesetzblatt)*, or even the official journals of the ministries concerned, or of the governors, but only in confidential circulars issued by the Party chancellery *(vertrauliche Information der Parteikanzlei)*, or other organs of administration, and distributed for official use only *(nur für den Dienstgebrauch)*. The German population were informed of these regulations by the Party at conferences of the local *Ortsgruppen* or *Zellen*, while the Poles, who were most concerned, learnt of them only through proclamations posted up in public places, or through oral announcements made at their places of work in the competent government offices. The question of the legality of this or that ordinance could never be raised. In consequence of the efficient organization of the German authorities and their close connexion with the Party the possibility of mutually contradictory orders being issued from different sources was small, and as for a Pole criticizing the content or the form of any German

ordinance in the presence of an official, it was positively unthinkable; every order given by a German was valid without appeal, for every order was backed by a whole overflowing arsenal of executive measures.

The content of these ordinances was as arbitrary and simple as their form. In the field of public law the so-called fundamental rights of the individual have long since become the common property of legislative systems throughout the civilized world. The relevant guarantees, most frequently embodied in a written Constitution, provide everywhere for equality before the law, eligibility for government employment and public office, freedom from liability to arrest, inviolability of the home, freedom to choose a profession or occupation, and freedom to teach. But in the special ordinances relating to Poles there was absolutely nothing of all this; only a series of negative provisions, expressly annulling such rights as that of eligibility for government employment, or for the trades or crafts, or the higher positions in the social hierarchy, and enforcing the duty of accepting whatever work one was directed to by the competent authority. Wages were fixed either at a rate lower than that applying to Germans (as in the case of agricultural labourers), or else at the lowest rate on the German scale, with deductions for the special tax called *Sonderausgleichabgabe*. In practice it was not possible to enforce any claims one might have through the courts, and in consequence wages depended most frequently on the good will of the employer. Finally, Poles were excluded from the social benefits, such as holidays with pay, family allowances, and social insurance, introduced by the Third Reich for the improvement of the lot of the working classes.

In the sphere of penal law the famous special ordinances for Poles and Jews of December 4, 1941, promulgated by the Council of Reich Defence (of which Goering was the Chairman) in the Reich Law Journal, were drafted in such general terms that they might be interpreted as threatening death to all Poles,

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even minors, for the smallest manifestation of Polish spirit. Moreover, the law was made retrospective, despite the old maxim that lex retro non agit. Its provisions wiped out the whole acquirement of legal culture in this field: Poles were reduced from the status of a party in an action at law to that of an object delivered over to the arbitrary power of court and public prosecutor. The principle introduced in this ordinance of so-called opportunism in procedure, whereby the initiation of a prosecution was left to the arbitrary decision of the public prosecutor, particularly in cases where the offence was committed solely against the offender's own nation (as in abortion, or sexual offences between Poles), was nothing less than legislative countenance for this sort of crime.

The directions concerning the treatment of prisoners given in the same decree and in the executive regulations look like nothing but manifestations of organized sadism.

The right to hold property and the connected civil court procedure were in practice completely abolished. The ordinances concerning the confiscation of Polish property in 1940 left it open to the authorities arbitrarily to confiscate what they chose, and they were not loath to avail themselves of the opportunity; they confiscated Polish immoveables in their entirety, and a very considerable proportion of moveables as well. The special rules for civil procedure, worked out with truly Prussian exactness, were therefore superfluous.

The above — outlined ordinances were general in character, and therefore were for the most part promulgated. A number of them were prolonged to infinity by detailed directions added by inferior authorities, regulating every particular of daily life with unexampled pedantry. They were mostly published confidentially and rather shamefacedly, as it were. Their aim was to render impossible all forms of Polish social life, such as organizations and unions, even purely religious and charitable, while at the same time they excluded Poles from participation in German unions. Poles were also for-

bidden to enjoy any form of cultural entertainment. Libraries, theatres, cinemas, and museums were closed to them (to what extent, depended on place and time). Religious life was for the most part only indirectly affected by special ordinances, being chiefly interfered with by such violent means as the imprisonment or murder of priests, the closing of churches accompanied by the prohibition of attendance in neighbouring parishes, and linguistic restrictions, the use of Polish being forbidden in church in Pomerania and Silesia even at the confessional. The removal of Polish inscriptions from tombstones was also ordered in certain places. In the social sphere the ordinances, based as they were on the conception of 'masters' *(Herrenvolk)* and 'slaves' *(Sklavenvolk)*, enjoined the strictest segregation of Poles from Germans, and in their doctrinaire and blackcock fury repeatedly touched the edge of the absurd; as, for example, when they forbade Germans to shake hands or sit at table with Poles; or demanded of a son, recognized as German, that he should sever all relations with his mother, not recognized as German; or required all Poles, and priests most of all, to salute Germans in the street — even the uniformed striplings of the *Hitlerjugend*. Even the majestaty of death was not revered by these ordinances, which required the establishment of separate graveyards for Germans *(nur für Deutsche)*.

A dark page of their own must be reserved for those ordinances which aimed at the physical extirpation of the Polish nation, and carried on war even against Polish children. To the former is to be counted the above-mentioned provision whereby offences committed by Poles against Poles were allowed to go unpunished. Here too belong the whole comprehensive set of food-control regulations, fixing far smaller rations for Poles than for Germans despite their longer hours of harder work, and excluding them from the enjoyment of a whole series of consumer goods, such as white rolls fruit, the better kind of vegetables, or fish. To the same class, again, belong the regulations concerning the occupation of houses and flats, where

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it was provided that Polish needs might only be dealt with after German needs had been completely satisfied. Similarly, too, with clothing and footwear. The rules of medical and hospital treatment, with the whole arsenal of related means, were utilized in the fight against Polish nationality carried on by the political authorities. Poles were only allowed to marry on the attainment of a relatively high age (at first 25 for men and 22 for women; later 28 and 25 respectively).

The German legislators waged constant war against the Polish child. The relative provisions were directed even against the babe in the womb; abortion was not punished, but was actually facilitated, for Polish women, and Polish mothers were denied the additional food granted to German ones. When it arrived in the world the Polish child had to be content with a ration about 40% of that given to a German child, and was entirely forbidden the use of certain categories of food: infant food preparations *(Kindernährmittel)*, fish-liver oil, sweets, chocolate, and fruit. From the age of 12, and sometimes even from the age of 10, he was forced to work, without any of those reliefs introduced by German law for the protection of young German workers, such as holidays and limited hours of labour. Schools, if they existed at all, were only institutions for the germanization of children, as in Pomerania and Silesia, or in the course of 2 hours, teaching a day for 3 or 5 years they gave instruction strictly limited to subjects a knowledge of which might enable the pupil to become in future a useful German servant. Nor was he encouraged to learn too much even of these. The regulations for the teaching of German in Great-Poland laid down that complete mastery of the language was not to be aimed at: all that was required was that the child on leaving school should be able to understand the orders of his German superior.

Such, in general outline, were the special ordinances enacted by the German lawgivers for application to Poles. The list of them is still far from complete, as fresh evidence is constantly

coming in, particularly concerning those which it was desired to keep secret. Many the Germans succeeded in destroying before the end of the war. But what has been said is enough abundantly to justify the conclusion that German legislation was designed consistently to exclude the Poles from the confines of civilized life and reduce them in every sphere from the role of subjects to that of objects in the eyes of the law, to be treated by the German authorities as they in their caprice might think fit.

Such is the picture as seen by a lawyer. It is, however, by the nature of things very one-sided. For the provisions of a statute are merely postulates put forward by the lawgiver — his will. For an historical appraisal it is necessary further to take account of the interpretation and application given them in practice. For every legal provision comes to life only as it is executed.

Here jurisprudents have not yet said their last word. It will be long yet before a full account can be given, by history, statistics, sociology, or medicine, of the devastation wrought among the Polish people by the above-described complex of special ordinances. One thing, however, is already certain, and that is what has been asserted by the Germans themselves.

At the beginning of 1944 attention was drawn in Germany to the catastrophic fall in production in the German war industry in Upper Silesia, particularly in factories employing almost exclusively Poles. The Upper-Silesian Institute of Economic Research accordingly made careful, methodical investigations into the causes. A questionnaire circulated among some scores of interested firms, together with exact observations carried out on the spot, provided the Institute with material for a comprehensive report, throwing light on all the possible causes of the phenomenon. The conclusions reached may be summed up as follows: Production had fallen and would continue to fall because the Polish employees were on the brink of physical and moral exhaustion. The writer of

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the report, who looked at the problem only with the cold eye of the economist, and is at pains repeatedly to point out that he puts aside all humanitarian considerations, nevertheless draws a unique picture of misery *(Elendsbericht)*, and hesitates only as to whether to ascribe the state of the Poles solely to lack of food, or to other material and moral sufferings consequent on the position of Poles in general in the German State. He goes on to draw attention to the danger of a speedy catastrophe for Silesian war industry if the political authorities do not immediately agree to an increase of food and improved legal conditions for the Polish workers. This argument was fully accepted by Gauleiter Bracht, the highest political figure in Silesia at the time, and the report was sent out confidentially to a number of other interested persons or institutions; but it had no effect on the fate of the Polish workers. (The text of the report is published in *Documenta Occupationis Teutonicae*, Vol. I, p. 215. Poznań, Western Institute, 1945.)

This Upper-Silesian report is a pertinent commentary on the above description of the peculiar position of the Poles, for it indicates the economic and hygienic results inevitably resulting from that position. Nor is it the only statement of its kind. In the history of the occupation of the western provinces of Poland stress is often laid on the conflict between German reasons of state, requiring the speedy dissolution of the Polish nation, and reasons of economics, which called for the preservation and maintenance of the Poles so long as they were indispensable as a labour force. Another fact, again, throwing light on the effect of the special ordinances on Polish life is embodied in German statistics, which show that in the regency of Poznania in 1943 the natural increase of population among the Poles, who before the war were remarkable for their fertility, was nearly six times smaller than among the Germans. Finally, it was noted as a phenomenon unparalleled

elsewhere in Europe that the average weight of children at birth in Poland had diminished during the war by 30%.

All the figures relating to unborn children killed in the womb, and those who died untimely as a result of deportation and life in camps, excessive work and inhuman punishments, must be included in the total sum of losses sustained by the Polish people in consequence of the application of the special ordinances. To them, too, should be added the hundreds of thousands of the most active members of the Polish community, drawn specially from the educated classes of the western provinces, who fell victims to the German fury before the German laws were formally enacted, and before the Polish community had realized with what it was faced. There was scarcely a town or village in western Poland which was not encircled by a ring of common graves. The guilt for this rests also on the early occupation authorities, who either looked on with indifference at this lawless violence, or, more frequently, took part in it themselves. They began to take notice of it only in 1943 and 1944, but even then only in so far as to employ gangs of Jews under the supervision of German police secretly to dig over the graves and burn the human remains. But many of the graves could not be found despite all German endeavours.

The special ordinances did not remain inoperative. On the one hand the State authorities, and the Party in particular, took good care that they should be effective; and on the other the German community at large showed great zeal and took great satisfaction in scrupulously carrying out their provisions in daily life. There were, of course, some examples of humanity even among the Germans, but it was impossible to be sure how far they were due to real love of one's neighbour and how far merely to calculation and fear of the future. In no case was there any manly and decided protest in the name of outraged human dignity. Ernst Thiess, a secondary schoolmaster at Hanover, a German, yet a European whose hand

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every Pole might shake with esteem since he did not hesitate secretly to teach Polish children, said at Bydgoszcz at the end of 1942: "As a human being I wish my people long years of harsh slavery to teach them fellow-feeling for others. Of 100 of my countrymen residing here 99 have no conception of the situation of the Poles." And so in 1945 panic fear seized every German from the east right up to the Elbe in the west, for then suddenly they realized the responsibility they would have to bear for all the crimes which had been committed in Poland.

We are therefore faced with the fact of the enactment for the western provinces of Poland of special ordinances which reduced millions of Poles to the status of slaves outside the law and were executed scrupulously and consistently, at the cost of millions of lives. Such a fact is so unparalleled in history that the question of its circumstances and causes rises unwittingly to the lips. Were German interests such that this was really the only way Germany could take when once it had decided upon war? which is as much as to say, were the Poles really such a danger to Germany that they could only be kept in check by measures such as these?

The western provinces of Poland which are here in question were not unfamiliar ground to Germany. Although they belong to the original home-lands of the Poles, and Great-Poland is in fact the cradle of the nation, yet they were connected with Prussia for a hundred and fifty years during the period of the Partitions. Their inhabitants, though in the great majority pure Polish, still clearly remembered the days of German rule, before the 1914—18 war, days memorable as the golden age of the Reich's economic prosperity. These people, in the level of their material civilization no whit lower than their neighbours to the west, peaceable and industrious, and acquainted with German law, administration and language, were prepared after the unfortunate campaign of September, 1939, for the necessity of finding a temporary modus vivendi with the occupying Power. This attitude found expression in the behaviour of

many Polish politicians, who returned from the campaign to their homes, or who perhaps had never left them, in the belief that the occupation provisions would not be retrospective. In these conditions the task of reconstruction, laid upon the occupying Power by the Hague Convention, would have been extraordinarily easy. Furthermore, before the occupying Power there opened politically interesting possibilities of exploiting the differences which still existed between the western provinces and the rest of Poland as a legacy from the preceding period of the Partitions. These differences might by skilful policy have been intensified, and, further, appeal might have been made to the lower social classes by the propaganda watchwords of the pseudo-socialist Third Reich. Such a course might have inflicted irretrievable moral injury on the Polish people during the occupation. In any case these provinces might have been developed into a first-rate economic base, secure from enemy attack. But Hitler chose another road, the road of terrorism and extermination, demanded by neither military nor political considerations. It should not be forgotten that his extermination policy was most ruthlessly pursued in 1939—41, when there was absolutely no threat to Germany from the east. But there was another reason. Hitler, renouncing his plans of conquest in the west, was directing German expansion along its ancient road, to the east. Here the only real obstacle was Poland. Secret documents, discovered recently in captured German archives, reveal the true aspect of the matter. Goebbels' lying propaganda thesis of a Folk without Space *(Volk ohne Raum)* was entirely baseless. In actual fact the eastern provinces of Germany were increasingly desolated by the efflux of their population to the west, while at the same time the pressure of Polish population on the eastern frontier of pre-war Germany was growing more and more threatening. In the western provinces of Poland the density of population was 105 to the square kilometre (272 to the square mile), whereas in the neighbouring (then) Ger-

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man district of Pillau (Pila) it was only 41·9 (109), and in Köslin (Koszalin) in Pomerania (West Pomorze) it was 53·1 (138). The second point influencing Hitler's decision was the high Polish birth rate. According to German calculations Poland in 1952 would have had the same number of recruits for the Army as Germany, with about half its population. So he determined to try and divert the relentless current of history. Relentless, since the experience of times of servitude has abundantly proved that the Poles have a spiritual ascendancy over the Germans, and that it is easier to polonize a German than to germanize a Pole. So the Poles had to be destroyed: the upper, educated class completely, and the rest made over into a will-less mass and gradually absorbed. The twentieth century was therefore to see a repetition on the Warta and the Vistula of that historic attempt which succeeded so brilliantly on the Oder and the Elbe in the Middle Ages. The account given in Helmhold's twelfth-century "Slavonic Chronicle" of the extirpation of the Slavonic tribes by the Germans has been and is accepted by historians with reserve, but in the light of recent events it takes on fresh colour. The Germans were impelled along the road of large-scale organized crime by hatred and fear of the future, unattended by bloodshed, but inescapable, which awaited them.

Hatred, however, is an evil counsellor. The special ordinances against the Poles showed themselves in the sequel even from the German point of view a huge political and economic blunder. It is generally known that the violent deportations undertaken by the Germans, particularly when they applied to the rural population, threw the whole economic life of the regions affected into disorder. It had to be built up again by the efforts of Germans, themselves deported from the east, who had first to accustom themselves to the difficult local conditions, which meant experimentation and consequent economic loss. Had it not been for the consequent enormous fall in the productivity of agriculture, there would have been

no shortage of bread under the occupation either for the natives or for the occupying Power. German economists understood this very well and therefore did not cease to urge upon the politicians the necessity for protecting the Poles as an indispensable labour force. By 1943 and 1944 the effects of Germany's mistaken policy were beginning to recoil upon its originators, as the above-quoted Upper-Silesian report shows, but it was then too late to turn back. The economic blunder just described was equalled in its absurdity by the political one of entering into a conflict with the whole Polish people.

It was therefore no imperious necessity which impelled the Germans along that road, but causes entirely different: retaliation for the Polish risings of 1918-21 in Upper Silesia and Great-Poland; impotent rage at the failure to germanize the Poles during the period of the Partitions; and fear of the natural course of history, which threatened the German conquests made at the expense of the Slavs in what till recently was the east of Germany.

So much for facts and their chain of causation. It remains to appraise them. First as the victims saw them. The Germans turned the whole system of their special ordinances against the Polish nation in the incorporated area; a system which put the Poles outside the pale of civilized society. Did the Poles admit themselves to be bound by these injunctions? Did they accept them as legal and right?

The interest in law, the awareness of it and the feeling for it, are very deeply rooted in the Polish people. This phenomenon dates from as early as the sixteenth century, when every Pole of quality took an active part in the enactment of general laws. The Polish people, brought up in the spirit of Christian civilization and in the deep love of liberty and of the freedom of the individual, has a deeply rooted feeling for that inviolable province of the mind and conscience into which the State may not penetrate. Hence the special ordinances introduced by the Germans were generally regarded,

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even by the humblest folk (few others being left in incorporated territory), as manifestations of force and not of law. In the first place the Polish community refused to acknowledge the "incorporation" at all. The boundary drawn by the occupying Power between the "incorporated" provinces on the one hand and the "General Gouvernement" on the other was for the Poles merely an artificial one, on either side of which the methods by which the struggle was carried on were different. The "incorporated" provinces were the front line, the line of greatest danger. The Germans here were more numerous, their organization closer, and the punishments they inflicted more severe. Hence the need for redoubled vigilance. But only those Poles fell back to the second line who had burnt all their boats in the first. The fight of the Poles against the special ordinances was a fight of small details and unimposing successes, but stubborn and often effective. The chances were very uneven, for on one side stood the Germans, vindictive and ruthless, wielding all the resources of the prescribed sanctions, and on the other the Poles, entirely without the protection of law. At stake was every Polish child, every morsel of bread, every stitch of clothing, and every hour of leisure. In such a fight there were no rules; no hold was barred. When marriages were forbidden, the percentage of natural children and children of secret marriages increased; when there was no bread, food cards disappeared from printing-press and office, and loaves from shops. The venality of the Germans and their unchecked greed were a great help to their enemies in such a struggle. The Poles, whose organizing talents had been so brilliantly displayed during the period of the Partitions, now once more stood firm as a silent, united band of conspirators with the one watchwood: "At any cost, endure". Cases were not infrequent when the roles were interchanged, Germans asking Poles to help them to obtain one thing or another which was in short supply. Consciousness of their own and human dignity was so strong and unshakable

in the Poles that no German intrigues could stifle it. Even Greiser could not forbear an expression of surprise at the sight of Poles going along the streets with heads proudly erect despite all their calamities and humiliations, and discussing during the war the principles on which Poland would be reconstructed after it. The Polish people gave no moral recognition to the products of German legislation, for they knew the latter for what it was: a challenge to fight. This challenge it took up, and though it lost much, much also was saved from the fire.

From the point of view of International Law the verdict on these special German ordinances is plain enough: they constitute the most brutal outrage upon the Hague Convention and the law of nationality, which for many decades has been part of the common heritage of civilized States. But this verdict applies only to the State as a whole, for only States have rights and duties in the face of International Law.

There is something more than that to be said. These German special ordinances are not a manifestation of Law. They are the instruments of crime disguised as Law; crime the more shocking that it was planned in cold blood and executed to the last detail. There have been great crimes and bloody occupations in history before, but they were unpremeditated. The years 1939—45 were unparalleled in their horror. The creators of these instruments have already met, or will meet, the fate they deserve. But an enormous number of instigators, abettors and executants are still at large.

Thousands of Germans took delight in giving effect to the special legislation against the Poles. This legislation was the instrument of a crime which has all the characteristics of "nation-murder".

Sentence must be passed in the conscience of every civilized man.

The fate of civilization depends upon what it shall be.

Tr. B. W. A. Massey.

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GERMAN CRIMES AGAINST SOVIET
PRISONERS-OF-WAR IN POLAND.

IX

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One of the most shameful examples of German barbarity during the second world war was the way in which they treated Soviet prisoners-of-war. Their cold-blooded cruelty was the more repulsive as it was deliberately premeditated, and practised on valiant soldiers who deserved the enemy's respect. The prisoners were kept in so-called "Prisoners' Camps" in the open air, on the bare ground in cold and rain, without boots, overcoats, or blankets; they were starved, inhumanly treated, beaten and murdered for the slightest disobedience,or for falling out on the march. The aim was undoubtedly the wholesale murder of the prisoners-of-war. But not of them alone. Male civilians caught by Germans trying to retreat with the Soviet Army to the East, and boys and men from the age of 16 to 60 who were caught on occupied territory, were treated in the same way as the prisoners-of-war, especially in the first stage of the war.

This behaviour of the Germans cannot be put down exclusively to the impulse of hatred expressed by Hitler in his speech of October 3, 1941, where he referred to Soviet soldiers as "beasts and animals", but was clearly due to instructions issued by the German High Command.

The attitude of the Germans towards the Soviet prisoners-of-war was clearly revealed in the trials of persons accused of atrocities, lately held in White Russia, Latvia and the Ukraine. For our part, we should like to add a small amount of first-hand information regarding the treatment of prisoners-of-war in the early stages of the Russian campaign, when German cruelty towards them probably reached its climax. Intoxicated with their initial successes, the Germans felt certain of victory, and equally certain that they would never be brought to book.

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As the war, however, went on and on, their attitude underwent a change, specially noticeable after their defeat at Stalingrad, when the German High Command had to count on the possibility of Soviet reprisals.

The evidence which we give here is based either on facts reported by eye-witnesses from among the population or else on German information, contained in the instructions of the German High Command, and numerous letters written by German soldiers.

During the occupation, Polish military organizations carried on intense intelligence activity among the Germans. With the assistance of Poles working in the German East Post Service *(Deutsche Post Osten)*, soldiers, letters were systematically intercepted and read, and revealed many interesting facts concerning — among other things — the treatment of Soviet prisoners. Unfortunately, only a small part of this material was saved, the greater part having been burnt during the Warsaw Rising in 1944. A large collection of photographs (about 700) from prisoners' camps, showing really blood-curdling scenes, was also totally destroyed. These snapshots were taken by German soldiers on duty in camps and the prints came into Polish hands through the photographers who developed them.

Still, even the extant material, fragmentary though it is, casts a glaring light on the German attitude towards the Soviet prisoners-of-war. The German behaviour in these camps, and their acts of deliberate cruelty, were aimed clearly at getting rid of the prisoners in a manner hardly conceivable by normally thinking individuals. First of all the Soviet prisoners were so starved as not only to render them quite useless for work, but actually, in many cases, to cause their deaths. Political hatred was in these cases stronger than the immediate practical interests of the Reich, which needed workers.

In the summer and autumn of 1941 Warsaw saw thousands of Soviet prisoners-of-war driven barefoot through the town,

wrapped in torn blankets, staggering with exhaustion. They were followed by trucks, into which those who collapsed and could no longer walk were thrown like sacks. The escort did not allow the public to assist these unfortunates in any way.

Here is an eye-witness's report:

"On October 13, 1941, two parties of prisoners were driven along the streets of the Embankment. The prisoners, pale and bare-footed, knocked about and struck by the German guards with the butt-ends of their rifles, were in a state of collapse from hunger and exhaustion. Any Poles who attempted to throw them food and cigarettes were fired on by the Germans".

We quote below the instructions of the German High Command concerning the treatment of prisoners, translated from the original German text:

"Instructions for guarding Soviet Prisoners-of-War."

Original German text of the

Merkblatt für die Bewachung Sowietischer Kriegsgefangener.

Auszug aus OKW A-z 2f. 24. 11 AWA Kriegsgefangenen (I Nr. 3058/41 Geh.)

Der bolschewistische Soldat ist politisch geschult. Jeder Deutsche ist sein Todfeind! Dem Bolschewisten ist jedes Kampfmittel recht: Heckenschützenkrieg, Sabotage, Brandstiftung, Zersetzungs-Propaganda, Mord! — Es ist damit zu rechnen, dass die Kriegsgefangenen Anweisungen für ihre Betätigung in der Gefangenschaft erhalten haben. Drei Gebote für die Wachmannschaften sind deshalb vor allem zu beachten:

Äusserste Wachsamkeit! Grösste Vorsicht! Schärfstes Misstrauen!

In einzelnen gelten folgende Anweisungen:

1. Jeder deutsche Soldat hat den sowietischen Kriegsgefangenen gegenüber schärfsten Abstand zu halten! Jede Unterhaltung mit ihnen ist streng verboten! Nur die unbedingt notwendigen dienstlichen Anweisungen dürfen gegeben werden!

Jeder Verkehr der Kriegsgefangenen mit Zivil ist zu verhindern, notfalls, unter Anwendung von Waffengewalt — auch gegen die Zivilpersonen! Es gilt unbedingtes Rauchverbot auf Marschen zu und von den Arbeitsplätzen, sowie während der Arbeit.

2. Rücksichtsloses Durchgreifen — notfalls durch schonungslosen Gebrauch der Waffe — bei den geringsten Anzeichen von Widersetzlichkeit oder Ungehorsam ist notwendig. Nicht mit der Würde des deutschen Soldaten vereinbar und deshalb verboten sind Willkürakte und Misshandlungen, Knüppel, Stöcke, Peitschen dürfen von deutschen Soldaten nicht verwendet werden.

Weichheit auch gegen arbeitswillige und gehorsame Kriegsgefangene wird als Schwäche ausgelegt und ist nicht am Platze!

3. Arbeitseinsatz darf nur kolonnenmässig und nur an Arbeitsstellen erfolgen um die ständige Aufsicht zu ermöglichen. Auf der Arbeitsstelle ist ununterbrochen schärfste Aufsicht erforderlich! Immer in einer Entfernung halten, die sofortigen Gebrauch der Waffe ermöglicht! Nie einem Kriegsgefangenen den Rücken kehren!

4. Auf flichende Kriegsgefangene ist sofort — ohne Anruf — zu schiessen mit der festen Absicht zu treffen. Keine Schreckschüsse abgeben!

Niemals darf eine scheinbare Harmlosigkeit der bolschewistischen Kriegsgefangenen dazu führen, dass von vorstehenden Anordnungen abgewichen wird!

Extract from the order OKW A-z 2 f 11 AWA (1 No. 3058-a/41). "The Bolshevik soldier has had a political training. Every German is his deadly enemy. The Bolsheviks consider every method fair in war: hedge warfare, sabotage, destructive propaganda, and murder. It must be remembered that the prisoners-of-war have received instructions concerning their behaviour when in captivity. It is therefore necessary for the guards to preserve, when dealing with them, the utmost watchfulness, greatest care and sharpest mistrust.

"The following instructions in particular are to be strictly observed:

1. Every German soldier will keep strictly aloof from the Soviet prisoners-of-War. Any intercourse with them is strictly forbidden. Only quite indispensable official instructions are to be communicated to them.

   Any intercourse between the prisoners and the civil population must be prevented — if necessary by armed force, directed if need be even against the civilians. Smoking is forbidden on the way to work and back, and also during work hours.

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2. Ruthless reaction is indispensable — if necessary by the use of arms, at the smallest sign of resistance or disobedience. Arbitrary ill-treatment is incompatible with the dignity of the German soldier, and is therefore forbidden. German soldiers should not make use of clubs, sticks or whips. Any leniency shown towards even industrious and diligent prisoners-of-war is to be regarded as a sign of weakness and is therefore out of place.
3. Work must be done only in detachments and only in places where continuous supervision is possible. At such places ceaseless vigilance should be observed. Always keep at such a distance as permits of the instantaneous use of arms. Never turn your back upon a prisoner.

   "In no case can the apparent docility of the Bolshevik prisoners justify neglect of the above instructions.
4. Fire at once, without warning, at any prisoner-of-war trying to escape and take care to hit your mark. No firing in the air."

These instructions were a direct and shameless transgression of all international legal provisions. Moreover, the second sentence of Para. 2, forbidding any arbitrary or abusive treatment of the prisoners, was disregarded, as will be seen from the letters quoted hereinafter, this being probably the real intention of the German High Command.

This is how these instructions were carried out at the Prisoners-of-War Camp at Chelm:

Letter from Sergeant *(Obergefreiter)* F. P. (Field Post) 06100 Bz, Chelm, October 6, 1941 to Corporal *(Gefreiter)* F. P. 95150 "We have here an enormous Prisoners' Camp. In Lagers 1 and 2 in the town alone there are 90,000 of this gang. In Lager 3 there are 60,000 including all ranks, from non-commissioned officers to chief commanders. Unfortunately, we are not allowed to write everything".

F. P. 00102 A, Chelm October 14, 1941:

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"In the local Camp some 150,000 Bolshevists prisoners are laid up. Of course, we are not petting them. If they have to stay here during the winter, half of them will die."

F. P. 37813 E Chelm, October 14, 1941, to F. P. 27884:

"Jewish prisoners are shot at once, but first they are made to dig holes for themselves. Then they are tied together in fives and shot so that they fall into the ditch. There are from 300 to 400 such executions daily".

The following report was given by a Pole who was allowed direct access to the Prisoners Camp:

"At first there were some 150,000 prisoners in the camp. The conditions in which they lived were dreadful. The marl soil on which the camp stands turns after rain into thick mud, in which the prisoners must sleep, without even a handful of straw. Food is worse than poor. The prisoners are actually dying of hunger and eat grass, straw and odd bits from the refuse heap. An epidemic of dysentery is spreading alarmingly among them. They are black with dirt, and eaten up by lice. No medical attendance is available. Their treatment is barbarous. The German guards torture them, beating them with the butt-ends of their rifles or with whips, and stabbing them with bayonets. Persecution goes on in broad day-light, before the eyes of the people living in the neighbourhood of the camp. Naked prisoners are fastened to the fence surrounding the camp in such a way that they have to stand on their toes. Their hands are tied behind their backs and fastened to the fence. A string is passed round their necks under their chins and fastened to the fence. A man cannot stand long in such a position; he gradually sinks down, his arms turn round, and the string tightens round his neck and slowly strangles him. Such scenes may be observed every day. Prisoners are dying at the rate of 400-500 daily. Every day some 500, under pretext of delousing, are driven to a special hut, where they are gassed. The bodies are then carried to the forest on carts drawn by parties of prisoners dropping with fatigue. On each

cart some 50 or 60 corpses are piled at random, with legs and arms sticking out. In the forest the bodies are thrown like rubbish into a large hole, which when almost full is covered with a thin layer of earth".

What happened in Chelm happened also in other camps. St. Grabowski, F. P. 29322 writes on October 6, 1941 to F. P. 35185 A:

"The Russians perish before our eyes like cattle. We are just about to shoot 4,000 Russian hedge-riflemen *(Heckenschützen)*. A mass grave is being dug. We do not know yet how it will be done — with machine-guns or rifles". A sergeant (name unknown) F. P. 06686 writes on October 12, 1941, from Biala Podlaska to Berlin:

"I was at the Prisoners-of-War Camp on Sunday. I wanted to take snapshots, but my nerves got the better of me. Too much misery and abomination. Almost every night some 200 or 300 of them die".

And here is another fragment of a letter. The same F. P. 6686 writes on October 12 from Biala Podlaska:

"Our comrades in the East are having a very hard time, but we are not much better off, guarding the prisoners. They are always escaping, throwing themselves wildly in the line of our machine-gun fire, or throwing stones at us. It is a dreadful nation. You complain of air-raids, but its is better for our nation to suffer from hundreds of air-raids, than to be overrun by these savages."

Two days later, on October 14, 1941, a soldier F. P. 05405 writes from Biala Podlaska to Berlin-Neukölln:

"You cannot imagine what is going on here. Every day many train-loads of wounded arrive. Every day also prisoners are unloaded, collapsing from hunger; among them boys of 13 to 15. Yesterday, when unloading, we found eight dead bodies, and we shot ten prisoners who tried to escape".

The facts referred to in German letters are confirmed by the reports of the local inhabitants. One of these says:

"On October 1, 1941, in the camp, which is in fact simply a vast field enclosed with barbed wire, there were some 150,000 prisoners, military and civilian, among them thousands of old men and boys of 13 to 15. Some 200 to 300 of them are dying daily of hunger, cold and dysentery. The prisoners try now and then to escape. Crowds of them, stones in hands, throw themselves against the barbed wire and the guards, who try to restore order by using hand-grenades and machine-guns."

The Prisoners-of War Camp at Biala Podlaska was transferred to Deblin. On this occasion some of the prisoners, including several under age, were murdered, as appears from a letter written by an unknown German soldier, F.-P. 06686 on October 12, 1941, saying:

"The local Prisoners' Camp is to be transferred to Deblin. Already some 5000—6000 prisoners are leaving daily. The Jews however, and the *Heckenschützen* are segregated and guarded by SS-men, who tell us that among these hardened criminals *(Schwerverbrecher)* are many boys of 15."

Of course, the prisoners were fed and treated in just the same way at Deblin as before, as is shown by the following report, dating from the end of October, 1941:

"A train-load of Soviet prisoners has arrived. The Germans first threw out the bodies of those who had died on the way. On top of these corpses they then threw those who were dying, and finished them off with hand-grenades. The remainder were taken to the camp. Whoever was too weak to walk was killed with a blow from the butt-end of a rifle, or shot. In the camp the hungry prisoners eat grass. The guards arrange shooting matches just for fun, aiming at the prisoners. Many of the latter try to escape, and those who are caught are shot."

A Polish witness reports as follows about the Prisoners' Camp at Blizin, near Skarzysko:

"The camp consists of four huts, situated in the fields near the village, so that everything that happens there can be

observed by the neighbours. Train-loads of prisoners which arrived here had taken over a fortnight to reach the new camp, and were without food or water. Each wagon when opened contained scores of dead bodies. The sick who could not move were thrown out. They were ordered to sit down on the ground near the station and were shot by SS-men before the eyes of the rest. The camp contains about 2,500 prisoners. The average daily death-rate is about 50. The dead bodies are thrown out on to the fields and sprinkled with lime, often lying some days after that unburied. The bodies in the field were seen by the villagers, who stated that some of them had been shot through the head. They were sick prisoners whom the SS-men had finished off. Such cases occurred frequently, especially at the morning roll-call, when those who were too weak to stand were shot. All this could be observed by the Polish population. The prisoners received ¼ kg (½ lb.) of bread made of horse-chestnut flour and potato-skins, and soup made of rotten cabbage. The prisoners were well aware that in any case they must die, so every night they tried to take refuge in the neighbouring forests, where they were shot by heavy machine-gun fire from the watch-towers, if the guards succeeded in giving the alarm in time by signal rockets.

A witness describes the conditions prevailing at the camp in Karolówka near Zamosc, containing about 20,000 men:

"The prisoners live in the open air. At the camp the hunger is so terrible that 2 km (a mile and a half) away they can be heard groaning and shouting "Food". They eat grass. Dozens die from starvation. The dead are thrown into a large ditch quite close to the camp, and are sprinkled with lime. The ditch is constantly open. Used as they are for the hardest labour, the prisoners collapse like flies and are shot by the guards. The guards fire at those who attempt to give the prisoners food".

As winter approached, the situation of the prisoners grew more and more tragic. This is well depicted in a letter written

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by a non-commissioned officer F. P. 16265 on December 12, 1941, to Elisabeth Hedergott, Primanerallee 19, Berlin N. O. 55.

"Spotted typhus is raging in the Prisoners' Camp. Out of the 6,000 prisoners transferred to us in October only 2,500 are alive. Appalling misery. Medical staff — one doctor and three assistants — also sick. Lack of people for carrying out the dead. They are scattered everywhere among the sick, on the berths, on the ground, on the threshold, in a word — on every available spot. Medicines are entirely lacking. Every week cases of cannibalism are reported. Of late three dead bodies have been eaten".

The attitude of hatred towards the Soviet prisoners shown by the Germans on every occasion, (by murdering them and by the cruelty with which they treated them) appears also in the correspondence of the German soldiers.

The following fragment of a letter dated October 6, 1941, addressed by a corporal of unknown name F. P. 38354D to private F. P. 19045, is typical:

"I have been ordered with my 38 companions to organise a Prisoners' Camp. During 2 days 10,000 prisoners arrived. The huts are not yet complete. You cannot imagine what is going on here. This gang is terribly exhausted and famished. Recently we got another transport — these were indeed mad savages. One evening they tried to raid the kitchen. They even attempted to burn the building. They did not succeed however, and six of them were shot. When clearing the debris of the house they got a thrashing, and in the evening when driven home another, so that they had to give up all further excesses. Anyhow, they demolished one of the buildings. This is a nation of nothing but criminals. You would hardly believe what is going on here. Anyone who is not here on the spot would think us crazy, if we ever told what we were doing. We often have to fire at the prisoners. It is a gang of utter savages, only to be mastered by force. What would become of our cities and of our women if this horde ever

succeeded in invading Germany? Fortunately, our *Führer* has foreseen everything and will prevent this evil".

No wonder that in such conditions, where the prisoners faced inevitable and terrible death, they constantly tried to escape. These attempts were welcomed by the Germans as a pretext for large-scale massacres. Thousands perished, but still a certain number managed to escape. Those who did so hid in the forests and villages and worked for the Polish peasants on their farms. The Poles sheltered and fed them. As a result of this, the Warsaw Governor Fischer issued an order on September 27, 1941, holding whole rural communities collectively responsible for the concealment of escaped prisoners. The penalty was death or long-term imprisonment. An order issued by Governor-General Frank dated October 23, 1941, forbade any intercourse with the prisoners. Prison with hard labour was the punishment inflicted on all those who helped prisoners to escape — by hiding them, providing them with clothes and food, or giving them information. Upon communities whose inhabitants disobeyed the above order the local Governor was authorised to impose additional collective or individual fines, up to an unlimited amount.

In spite of the above drastic measures, the Poles helped escaped prisoners, Soviet, British, or French, as far as they could. Hundreds of Poles — men and women — lost their lives in the common cause — the struggle for freedom.

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*) Summary of the Judicial Investigations

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STATEMENT

This is to certify that the book entitled "German Crimes in Poland", published by the Central Commission for investigation of German Crimes in Poland in Warsaw, 1946, - is an official document of the Polish Government submitted to the International Military Tribunal under the provisions set forth in Article 21 of the Charter.

Nurnberg, the 31th of June, 1946.

Dr. Stanislaw Piotrowski
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